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of the Lute Society of America

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Essays in Celebration of Arthur J. Ness's 75th Birthday

Part II

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Essays in Celebration of Arthur J. Ness's 75th Birthday

Part II

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EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

Volume 42 of the *Journal of the Lute Society of America* continues the series of issues began in Volume 41, celebrating Arthur J. Ness's 75th birthday—a *Festschrift*, if you will—spread over multiple issues. Part I had covered a long period of history stretching back to Greek Antiquity, up through the Petrucci and da Milano, and forward to the 21st century with a new composition for two guitars, *Omaggio al Divino*, a tribute to both Francesco and Arthur. Essays in Celebration of Arthur J. Ness's 75th Birthday, Part II focuses primarily on the Baroque period in fulsome articles by François-Pierre Goy and by Andreas Schlegel.

Since 1995, **François-Pierre Goy** has been a librarian at the Bibliothèque nationale de France (Paris), at first in the Audiovisual Department, then in the Music Department. His musicological research focuses on the music for plucked strings and for viol, mainly of the 17th century, as well as on the exchanges between the various instrumental and vocal repertoires through transcription or parody. Between 1986 and 1992, he participated in editing several volumes of the *Corpus des luthistes français* (Éditions du CNRS). Following that, he was one of the contributors to the catalogue *Sources musicales en tablature*, directed by Christian Meyer. In addition to his various articles and editions of sources and works in his favorite research fields, he has published the catalogue of the early music holdings of the French region of Champagne-Ardenne in the *Patrimoine musical régional* series.

Andreas Schlegel comes from a family of Swiss musicians. During school, he had guitar lessons with the renowned lute builder Sandro Zanetti, and afterwards studied the lute with Eugen Dombois and Hopkinson Smith at the Schola Cantorum Basiliensis. During his studies, he audited musicology at the Basel University (Prof. Wulf Arlt). He finished his lute studies with Jürgen Hübscher. Schlegel has been the head of a music school, and teaches the guitar at music schools in the canton Aargau. As a lutenist, he often performs with the Bach Collegium Zürich and as a soloist. This year his book *The Lute in Europe* will be followed by a second edition, revised and enlarged (with co-author Joachim Lüdtke). Schlegel is a researcher as well as a musician, focusing on the cultural heritage of the lute.

Goy and Schlegel are co-authors of the Internet website *Accords nouveaux* (<http://www.accordsnouveaux.ch>). This resource is devoted to lute music in “accords extraordinaires,” providing both material on its main subject and facsimiles of lute sources.

—Michael Fink

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Three Versions of Pierre Gaultier's *Bataille* (1626, 1638, 1650)

BY FRANÇOIS-PIERRE GOY

In 1638, the lutenist Pierre Gaultier (1599–16??) published in Rome an engraved book containing more than hundred of his own lute works. In spite of its publication place, the collection—the largest printed tablature for ten-course lute in accords nouveaux—belonged definitely to the composer's native school.¹

Of the final piece, a large-scale *Bataille*, two arrangements have survived, curiously both dating from twelve years apart of the publication of the lute version: one for mandore from twelve years before, the other for guitar from twelve years after. Together with these two arrangements, the present article discusses the facts and theories about Gaultier's life, and also presents some unpublished information about various topics relative to the composer's biography or to the sources mentioned in the article.

Pierre Gaultier, Orléanois

The biography of Pierre Gaultier remains shrouded with mystery. Only few facts have been ascertained up to now.²

First, a Pierre Gaultier was baptized in Saint-Michel church in Orléans on 30 August 1599:

¹ The *accords nouveaux* have been for me a stimulating research field for more than twenty years. It is thanks to them that I became acquainted with Arthur Ness, through Robert Spencer, while writing my *mémoire de maîtrise* (1988–1989). In particular, Arthur kindly shared with me the results of his examination of the various inks in the important manuscript US-Cn Case Ms. 7.Q.5 and made me aware of another interesting French source, US-CAh Mus. ms. 174. Though we have met but once since then, at the Weiss conference in Freiburg-in-Breisgau in 1992, we have kept on corresponding about 17th-century lute sources, although not very regularly. But the gift Arthur and Charlotte so kindly sent for my marriage provides a nice opportunity of thinking fondly of them everytime I use it! So I am happy to present him in my turn with this article and hope he will enjoy reading it as much as I enjoyed writing it.

² Monique Rollin ed., *Œuvres de Pierre Gaultier* (Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1984, hereafter referenced as CLF Pierre Gaultier), xi–xv.

Aoust 1599

Le Trentiesme & penultieme Jr d'Aoust an que dessus fut baptisé Pierre filz de honorable homme Claude Gaultier m^e Escrivain et Arithmeticien d'orleans et dame marie Colombeau ses pere & mere Les parrains honorables hommes Jehan payen Et Jehan Jacques Colombeau bourgeois & marchands d'orleans La maraine dame Guillemette perrin veufve deffunct Jehan delespine.³

Claude Gaultier had married Marie Colombeau in the same church on 29 June 1598. Though living in Orléans at the time, he hailed from Paris:

Le Lundy 29 Jour de Juin mil Cinq cens quatrevingts & dixhuict furent mariez ensemble Claude Gaultier parysien et neantmoins parroysien de st michel d'orleans Et Marie Colombeau aussy parroysienne d'Icelle parr[oisse].⁴

The family grew up in the following five years, as two more sons, Louis and Claude, and a daughter, Marie, were baptized in Saint-Michel:

Octobre 1601

Le Quinziesme Jour d'octobre an que dessus fut Baptizé Loys filz de M^e Claude Gaultier M^e Escripvain a orleans Et marie Colombeau ses pere & mere Les parrains furent Nobles hommes Loys Du Tillet et Philippes Viollet estudiants en L'Université d'orleans La Mairaine dam^{le} Rose de Massac.

Novembre 1602

Les Mesme [vingtroysiesme] Jour & heure fut Baptisé Claude filz de Claude Gaultier M^e escrivain a orleans Et Marie Colombeau ses pere & mere Les parrains Jehan pillard aussy m^e escripvain aud[it] Orleans et Jehan Girault aussy m^e escripvain en ceste ville d'orle[ans] La Mairaine Anthoinette Gaultier.

³ Orléans, Archives communales, GG 953, fol. 60r: "August 1599. The thirtieth and last but one day of August was christened Pierre, son of honourable man Claude Gaultier, master writer and arithmetician of Orléans, and Madam Marie Colombeau, his father and mother. The godfathers: honourable men Jehan Payen and Jehan Jacques Colombeau, burgesses and merchants of Orléans. The godmother: Madam Guillemette Perrin, widow of the late Jehan Delespine."

⁴ Orléans, Archives communales, GG 953, unfoliated register of marriages: "On Monday, 29th day of June 1598, were married together Claude Gaultier, Parisian and nevertheless parishioner of St Michel of Orléans, and Marie Colombeau, also parishioner of this parish."

Septembre Mil six cens quatre
 Le vingt & deuxiesme Jour de Septembre an que
 dessus fut Baptisée Marie fille de Claude Gaultier
 M^e escrivain a Orleans Et Marie Colombeau ses
 pere et mere Le parrain Barthelemy Royer de ceste
 ville d'orleans Les Marraines dam^{les} Jehanne Sachet
 [?] fille de Mr Despincy [?] Et Marie Duluart fille de
 Madam^{le} Duluart.⁵

Nothing proves definitely that this Pierre Gaultier is the lutenist: some namesakes might be lurking in the registers of the Orléans parishes of which records are extant for this time.⁶ His father's occupation, though, could be a hint in this sense, as according to Monique Rollin, master writers often were organists. Let us also mention the name of Pierre Bocquet, "joueur de luth et écrivain" in Paris at the turn of the century.⁷

Monique Rollin found no further trace of the family in the parish registers of Saint-Michel, possibly because they settled in another of the many parishes of Orléans, unless they did leave Orléans for the capital, Claude Gaultier's birthplace.⁸

Nothing more is heard of Pierre Gaultier until he publishes in Rome, in 1638, an engraved lute tablature, *Les œuvres de Pierre Gaultier*,

⁵ Orléans, Archives communales, GG 953, fol. 65v, 67v, 73v respectively: "October 1601. The fifteenth day of October year aforesaid was christened Louis son of Mr Claude Gaultier, master writer in Orléans, and Marie Colombeau his father and mother. The godfathers were Louis Du Tillet and Philippe Viollet, gentlemen, students at the University of Orléans, the godmother Miss Rose de Massac"; "November 1602 The same [twentythird] day and hour was christend Claude, son of Claude Gaultier, master writer in Orléans, and Marie Colombeau his father and mother. The godfathers, Jehan Pillard also master writer in the said Orléans and Jehan Girault also master writer in this city of Orléans, the godmother Antoinette Gaultier"; "September 1604. The twenty-second day of September year aforesaid was christened Marie, daughter of Claude Gaultier, master writer in Orléans, and Marie Colombeau, her father and mother. The godfather, Barthelemy Royer of this city of Orléans, the godmothers Misses Jehanne Sachet [?], daughter of Mr Despincy [?], and Marie Duluart, daughter of Mrs Duluart.

⁶ Rollin obviously located this record thanks to Camille Bloch and Jacques Soyer (eds.), *Département du Loiret, ville d'Orléans: inventaire sommaire des archives communales antérieures à 1790* (Orléans: [s.n.], 1907-1920, 2, 133) and did not pursue a thorough research of the many surviving parish records, as will be seen below.

⁷ Yolande de Brossard, *Musiciens de Paris 1535-1792: actes d'état civil d'après le fichier Laborde de la Bibliothèque nationale* (Paris: Picard, 1965), 35.

⁸ I did not try to search the other parish records to answer this query. One might also speculate, given the Parisian origins of Claude Gaultier, whether Pierre really was unrelated to Ennemond and Denis Gaultier. Perhaps more archival research will provide an answer someday.

Orléanois, dedicated to Prince Johann Anton von Eggenberg (1610–1649), ambassador extraordinary of Emperor Ferdinand III to Pope Urban VIII.⁹ The date he arrived in Rome, and how and when he became acquainted with Eggenberg, remain unclear. In the dedication of his tablature, he addresses the prince as “Vostre Excellence qui m’a favorisé en tant d’occasions” (“Your Excellency who has shown me favour in so many occasions”), but that may be rhetorical exaggeration, and Monique Rollin concludes that they probably met in Rome in the months between the prince’s arrival in May and his official entry on 7 November 1638, which was followed by various festivities until the end of the month.¹⁰ As the book includes an intabulation of a four-movement *Ballet sur L’entrée de Monseigneur le Prince D’Eggenberg A Rome*,¹¹ Pierre Gaultier could have been among the performers of this ballet, and probably danced on this occasion, which means that the book was issued toward the end of the year. All trace of the composer is lost afterward.

It must be mentioned at this point that the *Album amicorum* of Jean Marrois, who taught mathematics in Orléans from 1634 to 1662, reportedly contains dedications from princes of Eggenberg who studied with him.¹² However, given the dates, they must be identified as Johann Christian (1641–1710) and Johann Seyfried (1644–1713), Johann Anton’s sons, whose Grand Tour (1660–1663) is well documented through their travel diary and letters, and who spent some months in Orléans between July 1661 and 1662. On the contrary, almost nothing is known

⁹ Modern edition in CLF Pierre Gaultier, with a brief description on p. xix. Information about Eggenberg and his embassy is found on pp. xii–xv.

¹⁰ The Prince had made a first entry into Rome on 18 June 1638 but was dissatisfied that the Pope did not ask him aloud to sit. Once a compromise was found about this question of precedence between the Pope’s spiritual and the Emperor’s temporal power, Eggenberg entered the Town for good on 7 November. The ballet arranged by Gaultier is likely to have been that performed at the German College, because on other occasions, music by Italian composers like Filippo Vitali, Stefano Fabri or Virgilio Mazzocchi was performed. See Peter Rietbergen, *Power and Religion in Baroque Rome: Barberini Cultural Policies*, Leiden: Brill, 2006, 181–206.

¹¹ P. 110–11. The concluding sarabande of this ballet is strongly reminiscent of a lute sarabande known since the mid-1620s (PAN 5.003; PAN numbers are from the database *Pièces en accords nouveaux* (PAN) by François-Pierre Goy and Andreas Schlegel, accessible through their website <http://www.accordsnouveaux.ch> (http://www.accordsnouveaux.ch/de/Abhandlung/Datenbank_PAN/Datenbank_PAN.html).

¹² Hippolyte Tranchau, “Jean Marrois, professeur de mathématiques à Orléans au XVII^e siècle, et son *album amicorum*”, *Mémoires de la Société archéologique et historique de l’Orléanais*, 22 (1889): 504 (digitized version of the article available at <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k5545127v.f519>). Marrois’ *album amicorum* was then in private hands, and I have not been able up to now to learn its present whereabouts.

about Johann Anton's Grand Tour, thus there is no proof that he ever visited Orléans and might have become acquainted with Gaultier there — if the latter had not already left his native town.¹³

A few words about the lute in Orléans in the beginning of the 17th century

Though there has not been any thorough study about lute playing in Orléans in the beginning of the 17th century, various pieces of evidence suggest that several lute masters, some of them renowned, were active in the town or hailed from it. Therefore Pierre Gaultier may well have received at least his first tuition on the lute in his home town, whatever his subsequent whereabouts. A few of these lutenists will be alluded to further in the present article. Of one of them at least, the mysterious Mercure d'Orléans, some music has survived.¹⁴

This seems not to be the case with a certain Morel, though his *album amicorum*, which has come down to us, shows him as an appreciated teacher, as he is the honoree of dedications from no less than 127 of his lute students from 1622 to 1631.¹⁵ François Lesure had tentatively identified him with as Guillaume Morel, mentioned in a list of Orléans musicians in a late 19th century article.¹⁶ His identity is confirmed by a

¹³ Walther Ernst Heydendorff, *Die Fürsten und Freiherren zu Eggenberg und ihre Vorfahren* (Graz: Styria, 1965) does not give any information about Johann Anton's Grand Tour and does not mention Orléans in relation to him or his sons. I thank Dr Maximilian Schreiber of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, for having checked this (e-mail to the author, 19 May 2010). This is confirmed by Dr Barbara Kaiser, director of the Department Schloss Eggenberg of the Universalmuseum Joanneum of Graz, whom I warmly thank for the detailed information she provided about the Grand Tour of the younger princes of Eggenberg (e-mail to the author, 26 August 2010). Dr Kaiser also mentions that the young princes' mother once reproached them in a letter, that "das Lautenschlagen" together with going out at night was prejudicial to their studies.

¹⁴ About Mercure d'Orléans, see Monique Rollin & Jean-Michel Vaccaro (eds), *Cœuvres des Mercure* (Paris: Éditions du CNRS, 1977): xi-xiv. Rollin did not consider the possibility of identifying a Jehan Mercyre, "joueur d'instruments" in Paris, of whom a daughter was godmother to a child on 15 February 1618 (Brossard, 214) either with him or with the Jean Mercure who was later a English royal lutenist.

¹⁵ The *album amicorum* is in F-Pn, Département des Manuscrits, Fr. 25185. Among Morel's students, none seems, as far as I know, connected with any extant lute manuscript.

¹⁶ François Lesure, "Recherches sur les luthistes parisiens à l'époque de Louis XIII", in Jean Jacquot (ed.), *Le luth et sa musique*, vol. 2 (Paris: Éditions du CNRS, 1980), 215, after Paul Leroy and H. Herluison, "Notes artistiques sur les auteurs dramatiques, les acteurs et les musiciens dans l'Orléanais", *Réunion des sociétés des beaux-arts des départements, 21e session* (Paris: Plon, Nourrit et cie, 1897), 788, fn 2. Comparison with the matricles of the *natio Germanica* of the University (Orléans, Archives départementales du Loiret, D 242 for the relevant period) confirms Lesure's theory that Morel taught students of the University.

contract of 5 November 1624, by which Guillaume Morel, "M^e Joueur d'Instrument de luth", associated himself until 6 January 1626 with Jehan Crevrant dit La Verdure, Michel Duvrau, Jacques Menoust dit Baraton and Jehan Menoust, all "Maistres Joueurs d'instruments".¹⁷

Among the musicians listed with Morel in the aforementioned article, three may bear some relation to lute composers:¹⁸ Jehan Dominisques conjures up the "Dominique" of whom nine pieces are preserved in CZ-Pnm IV.G.18;¹⁹ Claude Béchon may or may not be one of "Mrs Bechons les 2 frères" mentioned in the list of lute masters of the Milleran manuscript or belong to the same family;²⁰ and Jean Licoys might also have been a relative of the lutenist Jacques Licoys mentioned in the Parisian parish registers.²¹ Unfortunately, the authors neither mentioned the date of the document where any of the names appear nor the instrument played.

Last, René Saman's unpublished wills and other archival documents reveal that his half-brother Jehan Mesnager, to whom he left most of his possessions, was living in Orléans in 1629 and 1630.²² Further research in Orléans shows that he had in fact lived there much longer, though he was one of the *valets de chambre* of Queen Marie de Médicis from 1601 to 1620²³ and, in 1619, lutenist of the King's chamber dur-

¹⁷ Orléans, Archives départementales du Loiret, 3 E 10362, no. 336. All of them lived in the Saint-Liphard parish, except Duvrau, who lived in the parish of Notre-Dame-de-Bonne-Nouvelle. Morel's associates are said further in the text to have been violin players and dancing masters. I have not found Morel's burial record in the parish registers of Saint-Liphard: perhaps he died in another parish.

¹⁸ Paul Leroy and H. Herluison, *loc. cit.*

¹⁹ Dominique's extant works in CZ-Pnm IV.G.18 are: a pavane, fol. 183v-184r (PAN no. 2.004); three courantes, fol. 135v-136r (PAN no. 4.255), fol. 180v-181r (PAN no. 4.256), fol. 185v-186r (PAN no. 4.257); four sarabandes, fol. 178r (PAN no. 5.193), fol. 182v (PAN no. 5.194), fol. 186v-187r (PAN no. 5.195), fol. 191v (PAN no. 5.196); *Sus, sus, bergers et bergerettes*, after an air by Guédron, fol. 181v-182r (PAN no. 13.121).

²⁰ F-Pn Rés. 823, fol. 2r. Of the extant pieces by Bechon, 28 are found in D-ROu Sæc. XVII-54, 7 in F-Pn Rés. Vmc. ms. 89, and one in PL-LZu M 3779. The latter has an unattributed concordance in A-Wn Mus. ms. 17706; the others are all *unica*.

²¹ A daughter of Jacques Licoys was baptized in Paris on 27 January 1650 (Brossard, 198).

²² About Saman's biography, see André Souris, Monique Rollin, Jean-Michel Vaccaro (eds.), *Cœuvres de Vaumesnil, Edinthon, Perrichon, Razé, Montbuysson, La Grotte, Saman, La Barre* (Paris: Éditions du CNRS, 1974), xxviii-xxix. Saman made two successive wills (Paris, Archives nationales, Minutier central, LXXXIII, 11, 10 October 1629 and LXXXIII, 12, 24 March 1630). In both, he leaves most of his possessions to "noble homme Jehan Mesnager dem' a Orleans frere uterin dud. S' testateur." In the first, Mesnager is also appointed as executor, while in the second Saman appointed his other colleague François Richard the elder.

²³ Eugène Griseille (ed.), *État de la maison du roi Louis XIII, de celles de sa mère, Marie de Médicis, de ses sœurs, Chrestienne, Élisabeth et Henriette de France . . . : comprenant les années 1601 à 1665* (Paris: P. Catin, 1912) 74 (no. 2944). Ennemond Gaultier held the same office in 1620 and 1621 (Griseille, 75, no. 2964), though not in replacement of Mesnager, who was succeeded by one Loys Billebault (Griseille, 75, no. 2962).

ing the first half of the year, while Saman held the same office during the second half. Mesnager resigned this office in 1627 in favour of François Richard the younger.²⁴ On 23 July 1619, he was one of the godfathers of Paula, the new little bell of the Saint-Paul parish church in Orléans.²⁵ He died between 1630 and 1641 and was survived by his widow, Sophie Sevin.²⁶

*Was Pierre Gaultier a Jesuit?*²⁷

Monique Rollin considered the possibility of identifying Pierre Gaultier with Pierre Gaultruche (*Petrus Galtruchius aurelianensis*), a respected teacher in the Jesuit college of Caen, reportedly born in Orléans on 4 April 1602, but of whom she declared not to have found the name in the archives of Orléans—a hypothesis adopted afterwards with less caution by other writers.²⁸

²⁴ Paris, Archives nationales, Minutier central, VII, 16, 8 January 1627.

²⁵ Orléans, Archives communales, GG 1391.

²⁶ Orléans, Archives départementales du Loiret, 13 J 235, "Declaration des heritages delaissez par le trespas aux heritiers de deff uncte Madame Mesnager," with her will, and 13 J 401. The burial registers of the parishes of Saint-Paul and Sainte-Catherine (to which his house of the Rue Neuve belonged) are missing for this period.

²⁷ Although I did not originally intend it so, I now understand the title of this section as a tribute to the late Margaret Urquhart's article, "Was Christopher Simpson a Jesuit?," *Chelys*, vol. 21 (1992): 3-26 (available online at <http://www.vdgs.org.uk/fi/les/chelys/21chelys1992.pdf>), where the author not only displays the results of an impressive research in discussing the possible identity between the great violist and composer and a contemporary Jesuit of the same name, but also conjures up very vividly the precarious lives of the English Jesuits and of a local recusant community in the 17th century.

²⁸ CLF P. Gaultier, pp. xv-xvi. Gaultruche's name indeed does not appear in the published inventories of the archives, that only mention selected records (Archives départementales du Loiret, *Inventaire sommaire des archives départementales antérieures à 1790*, Orléans: [various publishers], 1878-1927); Camille Bloch and Jacques Soyer (eds.), *Département du Loiret, ville d'Orléans: inventaire sommaire des archives communales antérieures à 1790* (Orléans: [s.n.], 1907-1920). While Christian Meyer, mentions *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Personenteil* 7 (2002), s.v. "Gaultier, Pierre (I)," with welcome caution that "Ob Gautier mit dem Jesuitenpater Pierre Gaultruche (1602-1681) identisch sei [...], läßt sich nicht feststellen," Rollin shows herself much more affirmative in Stanley Sadie (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. "Gautier [Gaultier], Pierre (i)," writing that "he may be identified with Pierre Gaultruche," and Philippe Vendrix, *Dictionnaire de la musique en France aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles* (Paris: Fayard, 1992), s.v. "Gautier, Pierre," goes so far as to take the identity of both men for granted and to create a "synthetic" Pierre Gaultier whose life incorporates elements of the Jesuit's biography: "Il fait son noviciat chez les Jésuites dès 1621 et prononce ses vœux en 1624 [!]. Il quitte la France pour Rome où il se lie avec le prince d'Éggenberg, et participe au *Ballet sur l'entrée du prince d'Éggenberg* à qui il dédie sa tablature imprimée: *Les œuvres de Pierre Gautier*, orléanois (Rome, 1638). Vers 1640, il revient à Caen pour se consacrer à la philosophie et publie plusieurs ouvrages."

However, a recent dictionary of Jesuits gives a much more detailed cursus of Gaultruche's life than was apparently available to Rollin. He entered the noviciate in Paris on 14 August 1621, studied rhetoric in Rennes (1623–1624), then philosophy in La Flèche (1624–1627) and came back to Rennes as grammar teacher (1627–1631). He then studied theology in La Flèche and was ordained there in 1635. The remainder of his life was devoted to teaching in various Jesuit colleges: humanities in Blois (1635–1636); philosophy in Nevers (1637–1639); Rennes (1639–1641), where he took his last vows on 22 April 1640; Caen (1641–1644); La Flèche (1644–1653); and Caen again, where he remained until his death on 4 May 1681 and became the first professor of mathematics in 1667.²⁹ No travel to Rome or connection with Eggenberg is mentioned. This, added to the fact that onomastical dictionaries record Gau(l)truche as a surname of its own right and distinct from the much more common Gau(l)t(h)ier, though sharing a common origin with the latter, made the identification between the two men appear rather doubtful in my eyes.³⁰

Rollin's hypothesis must now definitely be discarded, as Pierre Gaultruche's baptism record of 4 August 1602 survives in the registers of the Saint-Paul parish of Orléans:

Le mesme [quatriesme] Jour dud[it] moys [d'aoust] et
an [mil six cens et deux] que dessus a esté baptizé
Pierre filz de P[ier]re Gaudruche et de Margueritte
Gaudin sa femme ses parains Paul Gaudin et Tonmas
Gaudruche La maraine Marie Repassee
[signed] Paul Gaudin
Marie Repassee³¹

One could object the spelling "Gaudruche," but in the record of his parents' marriage on 5 March 1601, the bridegroom's name is cor-

²⁹ H. Beylard, in Charles O'Neill, Joaquín Ma Domínguez, *Diccionario histórico de la Compañía de Jesús. II, Costa Rossetti – Industrias*, (Roma: Institutum historicum; Madrid: Universidad pontificia Comillas, 2001), s.v. "Gautruche (Gaultruche), Pierre".

³⁰ Marie-Thérèse Morlet, *Dictionnaire étymologique des noms de famille*, vol. 2 (Paris: Perrin, 1997): 450. Rollin's explanations about the possibility of Galtruchius to be a latinization of Gaultier do not sound very convincing.

³¹ Orléans, Archives communales, GG 1389, fol. 48v: "The same [fourth] day of the said month [August] and year [1602] aforesaid was christened Pierre son of Pierre Gaudruche and of Marguerite Gaudin his wife. His godfathers, Paul Gaudin and Thomas Gaudruche, the godmother, Marie Repassée." It took about three hours of browsing the parish records of Orléans from 4 April 1602 to the end of the same year to find that (since I took them in alphabetical order, Saint-Paul was the nineteenth of the twenty-five with extant records for that year)—a very testing task for one's poor eyes when you have to view them on negative microfilms, but that, thank God, proved rewarding!

rectly spelled as Pierre Gaultruche, thus confirming the identification.³² The different month explains itself if he was not baptized on the day of his birth or, perhaps more probably given the identical day by an error of transcription at some point.

Pierre Gaultier's work and its circulation

LES ŒUVRES / DE PIERRE GAULTIER ORLEANOIS / DEDIEES / A MON-SEIGNEUR LE DVC DE CRVMAV / & Prince D'Eggenberg &c. / Ambassadeur Extraordinaire pour sa Maieste / Imperiale a sa Saintete / Urbain VIII / a Rome lan 1638 were published without imprint, thus it seems likely that the book was printed at the composer's expenses and sold by himself. It contains 105 pieces in 116 pages, with 6 unnumbered preliminary pages and 2 unnumbered pages for the table of contents at the end; pp. 108–109 are wrongly numbered 107–108.³³ Like the title page, the address to the reader, the “Notations” (explication of the graces), and the dedication are in French, as well as the titles of the pieces and the table of contents, with consistent spellings including the archaic form “Premier” instead of “Premier” (pp. 1, 84, and table).

Pierre Gaultier writes for a ten-course lute, stopped on all ten courses, in no less than six different tunings.³⁴ That in d minor (dfdf), soon to become the standard tuning of the eleven-course baroque lute, here makes its first appearance in a dated source, simultaneously with the *Tablature de luth de différents auteurs sur les accords nouveaux* published

³² Orléans, Archives communales, GG 1388, fol. VIr. Paul Gaudin and Marie Repassée, godfather and godmother to the younger Pierre Gaultruche, married in the same church on 6 September 1601 (Ibid., fol. XVv). The other godfather, Thomas Gaultruche, bore the same Christian name as the child's grandfather and may have been an uncle, as Paul Gaudin seems to have been.

³³ It is worth mentioning that a selection of forty pieces by Pierre Gaultier, including the one discussed in this article, was recorded in 1989 by the German lutenist Sigrun Richter (Pierre Gaultier (1599–1681) [sic], *Les œuvres, Rom 1638*, Ambitus amb 97 828). Both the performer and her label deserve, I think, our praises for taking the commercial risk of devoting a complete CD to the music of such a forgotten composer. More recently, Anthony Bailes included eleven pieces, of which three are common with the former recording, in his anthology *Old Gaultiers Nightinghall* (Raméc RAM 0707, P 2007).

³⁴ The tunings are: dfdf (sixty-nine pieces in five different keys), ddf (twenty pieces in one key), dfdf (six pieces in one key), dedfg (five pieces in one key), edeff (four pieces in one key), fdeff (one piece in one key). In this article, tunings are identified with tablature charts, following the system devised by Frank Traficante, “Lyra viol tunings: ‘All Ways have been Tryed to do It’”, *Acta Musicologica*, vol. XVII (1970): 183–205, and also adopted in the already mentioned PAN database. The letters express the interval between the courses, from the first to the sixth, regardless of pitch: thus dfdf has a minor third between the first and second courses, a major third between the second and third, a minor third again between the third and fourth, and a fourth between each of the following pairs of courses.

in Paris in the same year by Pierre Ballard. The contents are arranged by tunings and, inside of each tuning, by groups often freely based on the sequence prelude—allemande—courante—sarabande. There are also three suites consisting of three ballets in duple time followed by a sarabande and another with four branles, all in duple time. For the *dedff* tuning, with which five keys are associated, there is an intermediary subdivision by keys, that Gaultier names with references to the tablature notation only, not to absolute pitches. But one should not conclude that Gaultier's entire book is organized in suites, since there are several instances where the sequence allemande—courante—sarabande is not complete, and one key represented by only two courantes. The same kind of organization inside a suite-like frame may be found in the Ballard anthologies. Thus Pierre Gaultier shows himself in every respect aware of the latest developments in French lute music.

No less than four copies survive today.³⁵

I-Rc Mus. 480 bears a manuscript owner's mark "Del Conte Farulfo Pio MonteMarte di Titignano" on the title page. Count Montemarte belonged to an old family from Umbria that held the castle of Titignano near Orvieto. Probably he may be identified with "Farulfe de Montemarte," knight of Malta and apostolic protonotary, who was governor of Foligno when Pope Alexander VII chose him as rector of the Comtat-Venaissin on 26 August 1664, a position he held from 11 October 1664 to 28 November 1672. If he ever played the music, the Count Farulfo, who owned the book, would be the only case, as far as I know, of an Italian playing French lute music in *accords nouveaux*. The same copy much later belonged to the musicologist and member of the papal chapel Giuseppe Baini (1775–1844), who bequeathed his library to the Biblioteca Casanatense.³⁶

I-Bc Z.211 has a typical 18th-century library binding and seems likely to have belonged to Padre Giovanni Battista Martini (1706–1784),

³⁵ RISM A/I G 592 and GG 592. By comparison, most lute books printed in France in the 17th century are known in one copy only, a few in two copies, and Charles Mouton's first book in three copies.

³⁶ About Farulfo Montemarte di Titignano, see Charles Cottier, *Notices historiques concernant les recteurs du ci-devant Comté-Venaissin* (Carpentras: J. A. Proyet, 1806), 305–306 (available online at <http://books.google.fr/books?id=9TACAAAacAAJ>); about Baini, see Sergio Lattes, *The New Grove Dictionary*, s.v. "Baini, Giuseppe (Giaccobbe Baldassare)". I warmly thank Sabina Fiorenzi, Ufficio informazioni bibliografiche, Biblioteca Casanatense, for providing information about this copy (email to the author, 25 August 2010).

whose library and collections of instruments and pictures formed the nucleus of the holdings of the Museo internazionale e Biblioteca della musica of Bologna (before 2004, Civico bibliografico museo musicale), but this copy gives no clue about its former owners.³⁷

GB-Lbl K.1.k.17, bought in the 1930s from the bookseller Harold Reeves, likewise does not provide any clue about its previous owners.³⁸

B-Br VH 9759, bound in marbled calf, formerly belonged to the Belgian bibliophile Charles Van Hulthem (1764-1832), whose private library entered the Royal Library in 1837 after being bought by the Belgian State.³⁹ However, this copy has been missing for years.

In spite of this relatively high number of extant copies, Monique Rollin could write in the introduction to her edition that "le livre de Pierre Gautier [...] ne semble pas avoir connu la diffusion qu'il méritait. Les auteurs de manuscrits français contemporains ou postérieurs n'ont recueilli aucune de ses pièces."⁴⁰ However, to publish music in French tablature for ten-course lute in accords nouveaux in a country where lutenists preferred to play from Italian tablature music for archlutes with up to fourteen courses in Renaissance tuning may not have been the most obvious course to reach a wide audience, notwithstanding the case of Count Farulfo Montemarte. Not altogether surprisingly, Gaultier's works were thus copied out only in a limited number of manuscripts, all of them Austrian or German:

- fifteen pieces in A-KR L 81 (where the name of Johann Sebastian von Hallwyl appears, ca 1645);⁴¹
- five in D-B Mus. ms. 40264 (*Virginia Renata von Gehema's Lute Book*, ca. 1655–1660);

³⁷ I thank Alfredo Vitolo, librarian, Biblioteca della musica, for having checked this copy (e-mail to the author, 30 August 2010).

³⁸ I thank Christopher Scobie, Music reference team, The British Library, for having checked this copy (e-mail to the author, 17 August 2010).

³⁹ Cf. *Bibliotheca Hulthemiana: ou Catalogue méthodique de la riche collection de livres et des manuscrits délaissés par M. Ch. van Hulthem*, . . . vol. II (Gand: J. Poelman, 1836): 212, no. 9759 (available online at <http://books.google.be/books?id=aMh4jJI0OBQC>). I thank Marie Cornaz, Music librarian, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique – Koninklijke bibliotheek van België, for this information (e-mail to the author, 9 September 2010).

⁴⁰ CLF P. Gaultier, xxv: "Pierre Gautier's book . . . does not seem to have enjoyed the circulation it would have deserved. The compilers of contemporary or later French manuscripts have not collected any of its pieces".

⁴¹ Besides the pieces borrowed from the 1638 engraved tablature, this manuscript contains an unpublished *Courante de Goutier* (fol. 21r), which, because of its tuning (present in Pierre Gaultier's

- four in ARG-BAn Ms. 236/R (binding dated 1657), where they are “transposed” in dfdf tuning;
- two each in D-Mbs Mus. ms. 21646 (*Albrecht Werl’s Lute Book*, in a section datable ca 1640–1650) and D-B Mus. ms. 40601 (ca. 1670–1675), including one “transposed” in defdf tuning;
- one each in D-ROu Sæc. XVII 18–54 (ca. 1660–1670).⁴²

The composer’s surname appears only in A-KR L 81, which introduces a series of eight pieces by our composer with the mention of *Guttierts Stück so er dem Fürsten von Eggenberg dediciert*, and in D-ROu Sæc. XVII 18–54, where nothing distinguishes him from the three other Gaultiers represented in this large anthology.

Moreover, Pierre Gaultier was known at least by name in England, as the author of the “Burwell lute tutor” – perhaps John Rogers – names “Gaultier of Rome” along with “[Jacques] Gaultier of England” and “[Denis] Gaultier of Paris” as the “sonnes” and “Imitators” of Old Gaultier [!]. Though he writes conveniently that “Gaultier of Rome was esteemed for his learning and the gravity of his playing,” it is impossible to know how far he was really acquainted with him and his music, or if he speaks from hearsay.⁴³

The guitarist Giovanni Paolo Foscari explains around 1630 that in his pieces “si troveranno alcuni numeri legati . . . : nominati da professori di Tiorba, Strascini, & hoggidì usati da Signori Francesi nelle nuove accordature di Leuto.”⁴⁴ This sentence might well allude to Pierre Gaultier, who both shows his awareness of the newest developments in the tuning of the lute and uses slurs to a much greater extent than his

book but uncommon elsewhere), could be tentatively attributed to him. The manuscript contains another otherwise unknown *Courand: Goutier* (fol. 22v–23v), this time in *vieil ton*, after which the pieces from the 1638 printed book begin on fol. 24r. These copies are discussed in Andreas Schlegel’s article “On Lute Sources and their Music: Individuality of Prints and Variability of Music” in this issue of the *Journal*.

⁴² Updated concordances for Gaultier’s pieces (except for those in efdef tuning) are available in the already mentioned database *Pièces en accords nouveaux* (PAN; source abbreviation 47-P. Gaultier).

⁴³ *The Burwell lute tutor* (GB-Lam Ms. 614), fol. 5v. About this manuscript, see Matthew Spring, *The Lute in Britain: A History of the Instrument and Its Music* (Oxford : Oxford University Press, 2001), 416–24.

⁴⁴ *Il primo, secondo e terzo libro della chitarra spagnola*, [S.l.: s.n., ca. 1630], fol. [4r]: [“One will find some slurred numbers . . . named *strascini* by theorbo teachers, and used nowadays by French gentlemen in the new tunings of the lute”]. This sentence does not appear in the *Intavolatura di chitarra spagnola, libro secondo* (Macerata: G. B. Bonono, 1629), as it contains only pieces in the exclusively chordal *rasgueado* style (*alfabeto*), that does not lend itself to slurring. On the other hand, Giovanni Battista Granata, who plagiarized Foscari’s preface in his *Capricci armonici sopra la chitarreglia*

French contemporaries, in a manner somewhat reminiscent of Giovanni Girolamo Kapsperger's chitarrone works.⁴⁵ If so, he would already have been active in Italy at the very beginning of the 1630s. Whether several Frenchmen are really meant here is unclear, since the plural might be purely emphatic.

One of the graces used by Pierre Gaultier, a sign akin to a *y* and meaning *marteler*, may be found not only in A-KR L 81 and D-B Mus. ms. 40601, but also in D-SW1 Mus. 641 (hand C)⁴⁶ and GB-WM1 Re-cess VI Mus. ms. 7 (known as the *Thynne Lute Book*), a lute and theorbo manuscript partly compiled in Rome in 1634. Only hand C of the latter manuscript (fol. 8v–16r) employs this grace, and though there is no hint that this scribe may have been active outside France, it is worth noting that he also used a slurred turn played on two neighbouring courses much favoured by Pierre Gaultier. However, the anonymous scribe, who presumably wrote for a student, fingered the last two letters of the turn (played on different strings) with the index and middle finger respectively, while Pierre Gaultier merely wrote a slur under the whole group of letters, as did Kapsperger in similar cases.⁴⁷

spagnuola of 1646 (see below), speaks here only of “numeri legati, nominati da professori Strascini,” probably since slurs had meanwhile become a usual element of the guitar's technique and music. About these guitar books, see the descriptions in Gary R. Boye, *The Baroque Guitar: Printed Music from 1606–1737*, at <http://www.library.appstate.edu/music/guitar/1629foscarini.html>, <http://www.library.appstate.edu/music/guitar/1630foscarini.html>, and <http://www.library.appstate.edu/music/guitar/1646granata.html>. I thank Anthony Bailes for sharing his thoughts about this (e-mail to the author, 6 September 2010).

⁴⁵ Compare for instance the extended slurred passage on the five lower courses in the *Chaconne*, pp. 82–83 (CLF P. Gaultier, no. 74), mm. 60–68, and the second partita of Kapsperger's *Pass'emezo* (*Libro primo d'intavolatura di chitarone* (Venetia: [s.n.], 1604), pp. 47–48).

⁴⁶ See facsimile edition: *Music für Barocklaute: die Handschrift Schwerin Music 641*, François-Pierre Goy, ed. (Lübeck: Tree Edition, 2011).

⁴⁷ About this manuscript, see François-Pierre Goy, *Les sources manuscrites de la musique pour luth sur les “accords nouveaux” (vers 1624-vers 1710): catalogue commenté*, Mémoire de maîtrise d'éducation musicale (Paris: Université de Paris-Sorbonne (Paris IV), 1988–1989), 240–8, with inventory of the French section (a revised pdf edition is downloadable from the URL <http://www.accordsnouveaux.ch/de/Abhandlung/Abhandlung.html>), and Coelho, 164–5 and 647–9, with thematic catalogue of the Italian section. The turn may be found in a sarabande, fol. 12v–13r (PAN 5.134 A), m. 5, and a courante, fol. 13v–14r (PAN 4.277), m. 5, as well as in many pieces by Pierre Gaultier: Courante, p. 6 (CLF P. Gaultier, no. 4), m. 3; Sarabande, p. 12 (no. 10), m. 7; Courante, p. 13 (no. 11), mm. 4–5, 9–10, 16–17, 23–24, 27–28; Sarabande, p. 15 (no. 13), m. 3; Courante, pp. 28–29 (no. 26), mm. 3–4; Allemande, p. 35 (no. 32), mm. 11, 14, 15; Sarabande, p. 38 (no. 34), mm. 7, 15; Allemande, p. 53 (no. 48), mm. 11, 12; Sarabande, p. 65 (no. 60), m. 5; Sarabande, p. 69 (no. 63), mm. 2, 11; Allemande, p. 72 (no. 65), mm. 2, 5, 8, 17, 18; Courante, p. 73 (no. 66), mm. 17–18; Allemande, p. 77 (no. 70), mm. 9–10; Sarabande, p. 80 (no. 72), m. 9; Allemande, p. 81 (no. 73), mm. 15–16; Allemande, p. 101 (no. 91), m. 14; Sarabande, p. 104 (no. 94), m. 5. A similar turn appears in the 17th partita of Kapsperger's *Folia* (*Libro primo d'intavolatura di chitarone*, p. 35).

Sources containing pieces by Pierre Gaultier also show instances of this *gruppetto*. While in A-KR L 81 it occurs only in Gaultier's pieces, in D-Mbs Mus. ms. 21646, it is found as well in a Gaultier concordance and in three anonymous pieces without known concordances.⁴⁸ In D-B Mus. ms. 40264, it occurs in no less than twenty pieces, some in efdef or in efdef tunings. All of them are unique to this source and presumably of local (Danzig) or German origin, since some bear attributions to I. E. (Jer. Erben) and V. S. (Valentin Strobel?), and others set German songs and chorales or Polish dances.⁴⁹ In D-DO Mus. ms. 1214¹, a source without direct link with Pierre Gaultier, but with many exact concordances with D-Mbs Mus. ms. 21646, it occurs in seven pieces, some of which are also known through other manuscripts. Comparison of sources show that only the versions of D-DO have the *gruppetto* in question.⁵⁰ Some occurrences may be also found in D-B Mus. ms. 40601, including in one transposed concordance of a piece by Pierre Gaultier, as well as in versions of pieces by various mid-century French lutenists, all of them appear as more or less strongly "personalized" by the scribe when compared to their other sources.⁵¹

Could one infer from this that this favourite turn of Pierre Gaultier did spread in Germany along with his music? As regards sources in *accords nouveaux*, it cannot be denied that it appears almost only in

⁴⁸ In addition to the concordance of CLF P. Gautier no. 10, f. 22v(d): [Sarabande], f. 85v(c), mm. 11-12; *Sarab.* f. 82r(d), mm. 1-5, 13 (slur sign often omitted); *Double* [i.e. Courante], f. 76r(a), bar 1.

⁴⁹ *Mein Hertze vereidet*, p. 6 (PAN 13.013), m. 8; *Cuoranta*, p. 16 (PAN 4.027), m. 14; *Aria*, p. 40 (PAN 12.002), m. 1; *Sarabanda V. S.* (PAN 5.020), p. 46, mm. 2, 4, 10, 12; *Sarabanda*, p. 55 (PAN 5.023), mm. 5, 7, 15; *Allmanda*, p. 57 (PAN 3.027), mm. 12-13; *Sarabanda*, p. 65 (PAN 5.025), bar 15; *Czagona*, pp. 68-71 (PAN 7.001), mm. 2, 25; *Sarabanda J. E.*, p. 77 (PAN 5.027), mm. 4, 6; *Taniec Polsky and Propor*, p. 86, m. 6 of each; *Kein nacht kein tag vergeth*, p. 92, m. 2; *Keine nacht kein tag vergeth*, p. 97, m. 2; *Ich nem zu mir mein flagilet*, p. 99, m. 10; *Ballet*, p. 104, m. 1; *Couranta*, p. 109, m. 1; *Sarabanda I. E.*, p. 146, mm. 16, 18; *Christ lag in todes banden, vor unser Sünde begraben*, pp. 148-9, m. 2; *Lebt iemands noch wie ich, so lebt er iämerlich*, p. 149, m. 1; *Allmanda*, p. 183, m. 3; *Sarabanda*, p. 198, m. 14.

⁵⁰ *Ciaccona*, pp. 2-3 (PAN 7.002), mm. 25-26; *Patientia*, p. 4 (PAN 4.049 B), bar 5; *Patientia Var. 2*, p. 6 (PAN 4.049 B), upbeat, mm. 1-2, 5-6, 9-13; *sarab* [i.e. courante], p. 15 (PAN 4.124), upbeat, m. 27; *Cour.* (PAN 4.126), p. 20^(a), m. 14; *sarab* [de Madame Françoise, by Jean Héart], p. 21^(a) (PAN 5.004 A), mm. 9-11; *Cour.*, p. 30(b) (PAN 4.128 A), mm. 8, 11-13. See the PAN database for concordances.

⁵¹ *Courante* [by Pierre Dubut the elder], fol. 15v-16r, and *La Double*, fol. 16v-17r, bars 6, 25 each; *Allemande*, fol. 19v-20r, m. 1; *Allemande Pinell*, fol. 47v-48r, mm. 2, 7; *Le 1. Advocat*, f. 48v(a), variant to bar 4; *Allemande* [by Pierre Gaultier, no. 65, "transposed" in efdef tuning], fol. 91v-92r, mm. 5, 18; *Allemande Dubut*, fol. 143v-144r, m. 8 and variant to m. 9; *Gigue de Musi. Daucery*, fol. 146v-147r, variant to the upbeat and to m. 17; *Sarabande* [by Johann Jakob Froberger], fol. 188v-189r, m. 13; *Allemande Dubut*, fol. 201v-202r, m. 17.

sources containing music by Gaultier or related to such sources. An exception, though, is the concordance of the sarabande PAN 5.134 A in GB-En Ms. 9452, fol. 49v, where the beginning of the *gruppetto*, instead of being notated *d b a* with a slur as in the *Thynne Lute Book*, is expressed by *b, a*., thus as two letters only, each with a *tremblement*. Sources in later tunings deserve a more thorough investigation in this respect.⁵² Moreover, because of its ornamental nature, this turn could have been more widely used as the extant sources suggest, as some lutenists may have added it at places while playing even though they would have not bothered to notate it in full while copying pieces.

Victor Coelho speculates on a possible link between Pierre Gaultier and the intriguing manuscript I-Rvat Barberini Lat. 4180, an Italian tablature with an obviously French repertoire and French titles, that probably would have been copied by a Frenchman active in the circle around the Barberini family.⁵³ However, he has to conclude that there is nothing tangible to associate Gaultier with this manuscript; in particular, all the music in Barberini Lat. 4180 is in *vieil ton*,⁵⁴ while this tuning does no longer appear in Gaultier's book.⁵⁵

Even though Coelho does not mention this possibility, perhaps the inclusion of an explanation of the new *accordatura di leuto alla francese* (the d minor baroque lute tuning) in Pier Francesco Valentini's treatise *Il leuto anatomizzato* (I-Rvat Barberini Lat. 4433), that he dates from the years 1636–1640, could be considered a more likely hint of some connection with Gaultier or at least of an awareness of his book, which is one of the two earliest dated sources for this tuning. However, Valentini associates the tuning with an eleven-course lute, while Gaultier uses no more than ten courses.⁵⁶

⁵² Without attempting a systematic search in every source, I found it in two untitled allemandes in D-DS Ms. 1655: fol. 52v, m. 3; fol. 77v-78r, m. 4. (It does not appear in the concordance in D-B Mus. ms. 40601, fol. 150v–151r.)

⁵³ Victor Coelho, *The Manuscript Sources of Seventeenth-Century Italian Lute Music* (New York: Garland, 1995), 148–50.

⁵⁴ Dinko Fabris, "Influenze stilistiche e circolazione manoscritta della musica per liuto in Italia e in Francia nella prima metà del Seicento," *Revue de musicologie*, Tome 77, no. 2 (1991): 320–1, erroneously asserts that "sono utilizzati gli 'accords nouveaux'" and likewise suggests a link with Pierre Gaultier's tablature.

⁵⁵ It may be added that the last piece of the manuscript (fol. 5v, untitled) is ascribed to Gaultier in GB-HAdolmetsch II.B.1, fol. 185v–186r, *Autre* [Courante de Gaultier] *du mesme ton* and D-B N. Mus. ms. 479, fol. 35v–36r, *Courante de Mr Gaultier*, anonymous in D-Ngm 33748/271.1, f. 53v, *Corante*, S-B PB fol 172, fol. 34r–34v, *Corante* and has a contrepatrie for bass lute in RUS-SPAN O N° 124, fol. 90r, *Tenor* (identification by the present writer). The Gaultier referred to is most probably Ennemond.

⁵⁶ Coelho, 150–4; Fabris, 318–9.

Pierre Gaultier's Bataille and the battle pieces for lute in the 17th century

Compared with the remainder of the collection and with contemporary French lute music, the *Bataille* appears triply unusual. First through its length: with its 175 bars, the piece, along with both *Sinfonies fugues* and the *Chaconne* by the same composer, stands out compared with the concision usual in the works of the contemporary French lutenists. Then through its genre, unique among French music in *accords extraordinaires* and seldom found in 17th-century French lute music as a whole; on the contrary, it was more favored by Italian lutenists, which may have prompted its publication. Finally, through the lute's tuning, unique in Pierre Gaultier's work: the *ton de harpe par bécarre* or *harpway sharp* (fdeff), very fashionable between about 1625 and 1630, became outmoded in the following decade and seems not to have been used for newly-composed pieces.

Like many of the battle pieces for lute or other instruments composed from the late sixteenth century on,⁵⁷ Pierre Gaultier's *Bataille* consists of motives associated with military music—trumpet calls based on triadic tones, fife tunes, and drum rolls—alternating with borrowed tunes, some of which have been identified by Monique Rollin.⁵⁸ Throughout the piece, the melodic motives, whatever they may be, are accompanied by a drone bass (tonic-dominant-tonic) on the open seventh, fifth and fourth courses. Gaultier uses graces extensively, makes great use of the vibrato, and even introduces an otherwise unknown sign that symbolizes “tirer [le dixième cœur] avec deux doigts de la main gauche comme un coup de canon” [pulling the tenth course with two fingers of the left hand like a cannon shot].

The opening tune (mm. 1-12) appears already in a slightly different form as *Troisi[esme chant]*, of the otherwise unidentified *Ballet des insencez* in Robert Ballard's first lute book of ca 1612.⁵⁹ While Ballard's version is unambiguously in duple time, Gaultier bars it through-

⁵⁷ Comparison with other battle pieces for lute was restricted to those available to me and therefore does not claim to be exhaustive.

⁵⁸ CLF Pierre Gaultier, p. xxxiv.

⁵⁹ Robert Ballard, [Premier livre de tablature de luth] (Paris: P. Ballard, [1612?]), p. 23. About the date, see Laurent Guillo, *Pierre I Ballard et Robert III Ballard : imprimeurs du roy pour la musique (1599-1673)* (Liège: Mardaga, 2003) vol. 2, 102-4 (as 1612-B).

out in triple time, though he places at the beginning the time signature ♩ , switching to 3 only at m. 8. Then, after a series of trumpet motives, resounds a fragment of a popular dance song, *J'ai vu le loup, le renard, la blette* (mm. 73-80).⁶⁰ The series of unidentified tunes or fragments of tunes in mm. 81-109 could also be of French popular origin, as we then (mm. 110-11) encounter the opening of another French popular song, *Guilleri*.⁶¹ After a new series of military motives, a French march, elsewhere known as *Marche royale* (i.e., Royal March) is heard (mm. 141-8),⁶² immediately followed by the opening of *Guilleri* (mm. 149-150). This *Marche royale* is also heard in Nicolas Vallet's *Bataille*⁶³ and Jan Jacob van Eyck's *Batali* for recorder,⁶⁴ as well as in Girolamo Frescobaldi's *Capriccio sopra la Battaglia* for keyboard.⁶⁵ If the unidentified melodies at mm. 81-109 proved to be borrowed from French popular songs, the structure of the piece could be summarized thus:

- mm. 1-12: introduction
- mm. 13-68: military music
- mm. 69-111: songs (evocation of singing soldiers?)
- mm. 112-75: military music.

As far as they have been identified, the tunes appear to be taken exclusively from French stock. The lute piece must thus have been written in France, since by comparison with Italian and Dutch battle pieces, it appears obvious that composers would include in them tunes familiar to their intended audience. Both Vallet and Van Eyck, for instance, inserted *Wilhelmus van Nassouwe*, which since has become the national

⁶⁰ About this song, see Patrice Coirault, *Répertoire des chansons françaises de tradition orale. III, Religion, crimes, divertissements* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2007), 163 (no. 10621), as *Les animaux qui dansent*. The tune quoted by Gaultier is found in a version collected in Berry, *Chansons populaires dans le Bas-Berry. 4e volume*, Émile Barbillat & Laurian Touraine, eds. (Châteauroux: Éditions du Gargaillou, 1931): 154, phrase B, where it appears in duple time.

⁶¹ About this song, see Patrice Coirault, *Répertoire des chansons françaises de tradition orale. II, Le mariage, la vie sociale et militaire, l'enfance* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2000), 437-8 (no. 7809).

⁶² Source for this title: F-Pn Vm6 5, p. 9(a) (not identified in Monique Rollin's edition).

⁶³ Nicolas Vallet, *Het tweede boeck van de luyt-tabularuer*. . . (Amsterdam: N. Vallet, 1616), pp. 26-9; modern edition in André Souris and Monique Rollin (eds.), *Œuvres de Nicolas Vallet pour luth seul*, 2/1989 (Paris: Éditions du CNRS, 2/1989, hereafter referred to as CLF Vallet), livre II, no. 29 (pp. 245-54), mm. 126-41.

⁶⁴ Jacob van Eyck, *Der fluyten lust-hof.. Eerste deel* (Amsterdam: P. Matthysz, 1644), fol. 50v-51v, section titled "Ick wou wel dat den krygh an ginck".

⁶⁵ Girolamo Frescobaldi, *Orgel- und Klavierwerke. III, Das erste Buch der Toccaten, Partiten usw. 1637*, Pierre Pidoux, ed. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1949), 89-90, m. 1.

anthem of the Netherlands. Cesare Negri concludes his *La battaglia a quattro per due cavalieri e due donne*⁶⁶ with an allemande tune known as *Almande Bruyns medelijn* in Phalèse's publications, but also circulated in Italy as *Tedesca*,⁶⁷ while a northern Italian popular song called *La Girometta*⁶⁸ was particularly favored by Italian composers of battle pieces. Indeed, it may be heard in the *battaglie* by Pomponius Bononiensis,⁶⁹ Donino Garsi da Parma,⁷⁰ Alessandro Piccinini,⁷¹ Bellerofonte Castaldi (for two theorboes),⁷² as well as in anonymous pieces.⁷³

More unexpectedly, given the composer's French origin, *La Girometta* also features in Mercure d'Orléans's *Bataille de Pavie*,⁷⁴ a piece whereof the title, too, sounds surprising coming from a Frenchman, since it refers to a French defeat of 1525, where King François I was made a prisoner of Emperor Charles V. But Mercure's works are mainly known from German sources and it may be that this elusive lutenist lived at

⁶⁶ Cesare Negri, *Le gratie d'amore* (Milano: erede di P. Pontio e G. B. Piccaglia, 1602), pp. 257-63 (reprint, Sala Bolognese: A. Forni, 1983), and *Nuove inventioni di balli* (Milano: G. Bordone, 1604), pp. 257-63 (a reissue of the 1602 edition; the U.S. Library of Congress copy digitized at <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.music/musdi.121>). The piece overtly refers to a choreographical context, since it was published in a dance treatise and is provided with instructions for dancers.

⁶⁷ Cf. Howard Mayer Brown, *Instrumental Music Published before 1600*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1965), 132, 240, 245, 257, 297, and 326, for various Flemish and Italian sources with those titles.

⁶⁸ About this song, see Warren Kirkendale, "Franceschina, Girometta, and their companions in a madrigal 'a diversi linguaggi' by Luca Marenzio and Orazio Vecchi", *Acta musicologica* 44/2 (July-December, 1972): 194-204, which lists a number of vocal and instrumental sources from 1559 to ca 1710; its inclusion in *battaglie* is discussed p. 207. Coelho, 696, lists several lute sources as a free-standing piece.

⁶⁹ D-W Codex Guelferbytanus 18.8. Augusteus 2°, fol. 230r-231r, *Battaglia in contraalto Pomponij*, with section titled *Girometta* at fol. 231r. Modern edition in John H. Robinson, ed., *Collected lute solos of Hortensio Perla of Padua and Pomponio of Bologna* (Lübeck: Tree edition, 2000), 43-5.

⁷⁰ PL-Kj Mus. ms. 40153, fol. 5v-7r, *Battalia di Donino Garsi da Parma*. "La Girometta fatta dalle Trombe et Tamburi" follows a section titled "Tamburi con il Piffaro sonata da un Thodesco" and its "rispa del Thodesco in ottava".

⁷¹ Alessandro Piccinini, *Intavolatura di liuto. Libro secondo* (Bologna: G. Monti e C. Zenaro, 1639), pp. 43-9 (reprint, Firenze: Studio per edizioni scelte, 1983). This large-scale piece presents *La Girometta* in two places, as well as other unidentified tunes, and stands apart from the previously mentioned battles because of the density of its contrapuntal texture and the relatively unimportant role of trumpet calls. Perhaps it is an intabulation of a vocal polyphonic piece or of an instrumental *canzona alla francese*.

⁷² Bellerofonte Castaldi, *Capricci a due stromenti, cioè tiorba e tiorbino . . .* (Modena: l'autore, 1622) (reprint, Genève: Minkoff, 1981), pp. 4-10, *Capriccio di battaglia a due stromenti*.

⁷³ E.g. *Balletti moderni facili per sonar sopra il liuto* (Venezia: A. Gardano, 1611) (reprint, Genève: Minkoff, 1980), pp. 54-56, *La trombeta*; I-PESc Rari Ms. b. 10, fol. 27v-29r, *Battaglia*.

⁷⁴ Jean-Baptiste Besard, *Thesaurus harmonicus divi Laurencini . . .* (Coloniae Agrippinae: G. Grevenburch, 1603) (reprint, Genève: Minkoff, 1975), fol. 167v-168r; Georg Leopold Fuhrmann, *Testudo gallo-germanica*, ((Nürnberg): G. L. Fuhrmann, 1615) (reprint, Lübeck: Tree edition, 2003), pp. 184-190, *Auff die Schlacht vor Pavia. Mercurii*; modern edition of Fuhrmann's version in Monique Rollin & Jean-Michel Vaccaro, eds, *Œuvres des Mercure*, 53-67, no. 24.

least for some time in Imperial territory and composed his *Bataille de Pavie* outside France.⁷⁵ It may also be that the title was not given by the composer himself, but by the publishers: Clément Janequin's well-known song *La guerre*, the model of many sixteenth-century battle pieces, is indeed titled thus in various sources, including its lute intabulation by Hans Newsidler.⁷⁶ It should be noted that French people, who of course prefer to call this chanson *La bataille de Marignan*, may boast that this equally apocryphal association predates that of the battle of Pavia, as witnesses a Silesian or Austrian manuscript dated between 1538 and 1544.⁷⁷

It seems that only one battle piece for lute later than Pierre Gaultier's and Piccinini's (both published in 1638) has survived and, interestingly, one of its sources also contains a copy of Gaultier's *Bataille*: Could the latter work have prompted an unknown German lutenist of the mid-century to compose this rather mediocre piece in *bécarre enharmonique* (D-major) tuning (efdef)—it consists of not much more than a series of trumpet calls—that found its way in two manuscripts from the Baltic Sea area?⁷⁸

⁷⁵ This would agree with Monique Rollin's otherwise unsubstantiated hypothesis of Mercure being a lutenist in the service of Philippe-Emmanuel de Lorraine, duke of Mercœur and Penthièvre (1558–1602), who from 1599 on fought against the Turks in Imperial service and died in Nuremberg, and who would have assumed the name of his employer (Monique Rollin & Jean-Michel Vaccaro, eds, *Œuvres des Mercure*, xiii). However, there was at least one family bearing this name in Orléans in the mid-16th century, since a Mercure, medical doctor in Orléans, was mentioned in a volume of archival documents with dates from 1543 to 1548 (Orléans, Archives départementales du Loiret, A 550, destroyed in 1940. Cf. Archives départementales du Loiret, *Inventaire sommaire des archives départementales antérieures à 1790. Loiret. Archives civiles. Série A, nos 1 à 1799. Tome premier* (Paris: P. Dupont, 1878), 113–4), and thus the lutenist may simply have worked outside France under his true name. He was possibly back in France when he set a tune from a court ballet danced on 28 February 1610 (*Ballet du Roy*, Monique Rollin & Jean-Michel Vaccaro, eds, *Œuvres des Mercure*, no. 19, p. 45; ballet identified in Robert Ballard (Pascale Boquet and François-Pierre Goy, eds, *Premier livre de tablature de luth, 1611* (Courlay: Fuzeau, 1995), 11).

⁷⁶ Hans Newsidler, *Das ander Buch. Ein new künstlich Lautten Buch . . .* (Nürnberg: H. Newsidler, 1544), no. 52, *Hie volget die Schlacht vor Bafia*. See also Clément Janequin, *Chansons polyphoniques, Volume I, Période bordelaise*, A. Tillman Merritt and François Lesure, eds. (Monaco: Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1965), no. 3, pp. 23–53: *La guerre: Escoutez tous*—where the editors mention a 1554 edition by Scotto titled C. Jannequini *Proelium ad Paviam, Alauda et alia jucunda* (p. 181). Newsidler's book, referred to above, also contains a setting of Matthias Werrecore's Italian counterpart to Janequin's chanson, *La bataglia italiana*, which was influential on later Italian vocal and instrumental battles (no. 54, *Hie volget die Frantzösisch Schlacht die heist Singnori*); see Ignace Bossuyt's introduction to the facsimile edition in Matthias Werrecore, *La bataglia italiana* (Peer: Musica, 1987), 7–8.

⁷⁷ PL-WRK Ms. 352, pp. 11–18, *La bataglia di maregnano*; cf. Christian Meyer, ed., *Sources musicales en tablature: luth et théorbe*, vol. 3/2 (Baden-Baden: V. Koerner, 1999), 232.

⁷⁸ D-B Mus. ms. 40264, pp. 110–113 and GB-Lbl Sloane 2923, fol. 108v–109r.

Pierre Gaultier's *Bataille* can be compared with Vallet's as regards the level of musical elaboration, but both pieces bear no direct relation with each other and share only some trumpet-call motives and the melody of a French march. Could the quotation from the *Ballet des insensés* imply a choreographic origin, as does Negri's piece?

The two arrangements of the *Bataille* that we will now discuss may not call into question Monique Rollin's conclusions quoted above about the diffusion of Gaultier's works. However, they invite qualifying them and, most of all, shed new light on the history and circulation of this particular piece.

*Twelve years before: the battle, for five-course mandore from D-U
Smr Misc. 133b*

The earlier of these arrangements, for five-course mandore, has been transmitted in the *Mandor Buch* D-U Smr Misc. 133b, fol. 94v-97r, where it bears no ascription. The wrong numbering as three distinct pieces (nos. 115-117) has been added in a recent hand.

The manuscript belongs to a group of four tablatures for both four-course and five-course mandore compiled mainly in France (one at least in Paris), for and partly by Anton Schermer of Ulm.⁷⁹ Born on 21 April 1604, Schermer undertook from 1623 to 1628 a grand tour that led him first to Geneva, then to France, whence he made a short journey to England and the Netherlands, and last to Italy. During most of it he kept a diary, and he also alludes to it in his autobiographical *Lebenslauff* of 1678. Unfortunately, none of these writings makes the least allusion to music. The diary contains mainly the details of the places where he

⁷⁹ So-called facsimile editions of all four tablature have been published (Stuttgart: Cornetto-Verlag, 1997), but they are hardly to be recommended. None of them contains any introductory material nor description of the original manuscripts, and the page or folio numbers are, on the whole, illegible. In *Anleitung zur Inavolierung* (Smr Misc. 132), pp. 34-35 and 54-55 (unused staves) are not reproduced; the title of p. 46 does not appear; pp. 48 and 73 are completely blank though each of them bears an example in tablature; the loose leaf (k) is inserted after p. 62; the original tides on verso of loose leaves (a), (b), (c), and (d) are not reproduced; loose leaves (f) and (m) are missing; while two leaves of the loose quire are reproduced twice. In *Mandora-Tabulatur Misc. 133b*, the blank fol. 1-7 and 103-108 are not reproduced; fol. 25r-28v are reproduced twice; verso and recto are interverted on fol. 73 and 74; fol. 93v-94r (unused staves) are not reproduced; and fol. 39v-58v are reproduced in the following order: 57v-r, 58v-r, 55v-r, 56v-r, 53v-r, 54v-r, 51v-r, 52v-r, 49v-r, 50v-r, 47v-r, 48v-r, 45v-r, 46v-r, 43v-r, 44v-r, 41r-v, 42r-v, 39v-r, and 40r-v. In *Mandor-Buch* (Smr Misc. 239), fol. 8v-9r are not reproduced, and fol. 14v-15r are reproduced twice. Only the slight *Mandora-Tabulatur Misc. 133a* is accurately reproduced; however, the unused leaves (fol. 10-76) are neither reproduced nor mentioned.

stopped or stayed during his daily journeys, sometimes with the name of the inn where he slept, as well as information about the main monuments and personalities of France, while the *Lebenslauff* only gives the main outline of his travels.⁸⁰

From the contents of both documents, I have attempted to reconstruct a chronology of Schermer's travels, to be found as Appendix II of this article. The only French towns where he stayed at some length are Lyon (4 March–23 April and 9–29 June 1625), Paris (6 July–13 August and 15–26 October 1625, 30 July [i.e., June?] – 13 August 1626) and Orléans (27 October 1625–9 April 1626, 29 April–29 July [i.e., June?] 1626), where he matriculated at the *natio Germanica* of the University on 19 November 1625.⁸¹ He left Paris on 13 August 1626 for Ulm, from which he set out for Italy on 6 September. There he visited various places, including Rome and Loreto, but unfortunately left no detailed description of his Italian travels. He matriculated at the *natio Germanica* at Padua University on 8 October 1626, at Bologna University on 3 November of the same year, and at Siena University in 1627,⁸² and came back home on 1 April 1628, before entering the Town Council of Ulm in 1629. He died on 8 September 1681.

Schermer had already studied music before his travels. A copy of Adam Gumpelzhaimer's *Compendium musicae*, which had previously been used by his elder brother Marcus (1602–1620), bears his owner's mark with the date 1616,⁸³ and he inscribed a manuscript collection of 139 pieces for treble and bass instruments to his name on 29 July 1620.⁸⁴ While the various collections of polyphonic music—mainly German *Lieder*, but also some sacred music—printed between 1605 and 1617 with-

⁸⁰ I warmly thank Dr Gudrun Litz of the Stadtarchiv Ulm, who kindly provided me with copies of both the diary and the *Lebenslauff* (respectively Ulm, Stadtarchiv, E Schermer 1 and E Schermer 66) and Dr Stefan Lang, also of the Stadtarchiv Ulm, for sharing his thoughts about the dating of Schermer's travels and providing information about his *Stammbuch* (Ulm, Stadtarchiv, F 7 Nr. 18). Dr Lang has inventoried the Schermer private archive (*Stefan Lang, Familienarchiv Schermer: Akten* (Ulm: Stadtarchiv Ulm, 2009); online version available at <http://www.onlinekatalog-stadtarchiv.ulm.de/FamilienarchivSchermerAkten.pdf>) and is currently preparing a biographical article about "Anton Schermer, to be published in the serial *Ulm und Oberschwaben*. About the musical items in the Schermer library, see Clytus Gottwald, *Katalog der Musikalien in der Schermer-Bibliothek Ulm* (Wiesbaden: Harassowitz, 1993).

⁸¹ Orléans, Archives départementales du Loiret, D 242, p. 469 = fol. 267v. He inscribed himself as "Anthonius Schermarius Ulmanus Suevus." The new students were asked to give their names to the procurator of the Germanic Nation during the third week after their arrival (*Ibid.*, D 232, f. 172v), and we can see that Schermer did so.

⁸² Ulm, Stadtarchiv, E Schad Akten Nr. 1030 (information kindly provided by Dr Stefan Lang), E Schermer 57 and E Schermer 75.

⁸³ Misc. 107 (description in Gottwald, 21).

⁸⁴ Misc. 130 a-b (description and inventory in Gottwald, 53–65).

out an owner's mark may have been bought either by or for Marcus,⁸⁵ only Anton could have bought two collections of *airs de cour* printed in Paris in 1626.⁸⁶

While Smr Misc. 132 contains few pieces, it provides instructions for intabulating vocal music, transcribing pieces from lute tablature in various tunings, and composing on the mandore, abundantly illustrated by examples and exercises; and the three collections of pieces (Smr Misc. 133a, 133b, and 239) contain a repertoire very akin to that of the Parisian lute tablatures from the mid-1620s: dances (mainly courantes, ballets and sarabandes), arrangements of *airs de cour* and songs, and several unmeasured preludes.⁸⁷ Misc. 132, 133a, and 133b include pieces written out both by Schermer—who must have intabulated some tunes himself, perhaps from memory⁸⁸—and by unidentified French lute masters. On the contrary, Misc. 239 is entirely in the hand of a fifth French lutenist, Simon Le Jumentier, sieur de Laroussière,⁸⁹ who has signed some compositions. With the exception of Misc. 133a, for four-string mandore, all of these manuscripts require a five-string mandore. Only the pieces notated by the anonymous master in Misc. 133a are to be played with a plectrum: its use is ruled out for the rest of the *corpus*, even for the two pieces noted by Schermer in Misc. 133a. Likewise, Misc.

⁸⁵ Indeed, Marcus inscribed his name on one of these collections, Joseph Hoelzlin's *Melodiae sacrae* (Misc. 113; description in Gottwald, 27-28). Publications from 1605 to 1617 (the Schermer library contains no music printed between 1618 and 1620) could have been bought only by or for Marcus or Anton, as their father Egenolph died in 1605, aged 32. The unfortunate Marcus was mortally wounded in Strasbourg after falling from a stair (Gottwald, xi; see also Ulm, Stadtarchiv, E Schermer 23).

⁸⁶ *Airs à III. IIII. et V. parties* by Nicolas Le Vasseur (Misc. 238 1) and the *VII. livre d'airs de cour et de différents auteurs* (Misc. 238 2), both printed by Pierre Ballard (descriptions in Gottwald, 131-132 and 133-134).

⁸⁷ Descriptions and inventories in Gottwald, 74-78 (Misc. 132), 79-80 (Misc. 133a), 81-88 (Misc. 133b), 134-138 (Misc. 239). For Misc. 132, there is also an inventory by the present writer in Christian Meyer, ed., *Sources musicales en tablature: luth et théorbe*. vol. 2 (Baden-Baden: V. Koerner, 1994), 296-301. Gottwald (p. xxv) mentions two academic works about these manuscripts: Manfred Oechsle, "Studien zur Intavolierung-Praxis der Mandora: ein Manuskript der Schermer-Bibliothek Ulm (Misc. 132)" (PhD diss., München, 1984), and Siegfried Keller, "Die Mandora-Bücher der Schermer-Bibliothek Ulm (Misc. 133a-b, 239)" (Magister-Arbeit, Tübingen, 1992). I have been unable to consult them.

⁸⁸ See François-Pierre Goy, "L'air de cour et le répertoire soliste des instruments à cordes pincées au temps d'Henri IV et Louis XIII," in Georgie Durosoir, ed., *Poésie, musique et société: l'air de cour en France au XVII^e siècle* (Sprimont: P. Mardaga, 2006), 273 and 275.

⁸⁹ Simon Le Jumentier (also spelled Jumentier or Le Jumentier), sieur de Laroussière, was already *maître joueur de luth* in 1621. He was married to Marie Gadoulliot, and their daughter Renée was christened in Saint-Étienne-du-Mont in Paris on 21 October 1621. He was buried in the churchyard of Saint-Benoît in Paris on 31 August 1633 (Brossard, 183 and 158).

133a is the only one of these manuscripts whereof the music paper has not been identified as printed in Paris by the Ballard workshop.⁹⁰

As regards the chronology of the four manuscripts, one can assume that the undated Misc. 133a is the earliest, and that its obvious inachievement (only 9 of 76 fols. have been used) could have been caused by Schermer switching from the four-course to the five-course mandore.⁹¹ This appears to be confirmed by the fact that Schermer copied out most of its contents in Misc. 133b, leaving out the right-hand performance indications, useless now that he played without the plectrum, but correcting the text here and there to add a note on the fifth string. Next, chronologically, might come most of the similarly undated Misc. 132, owing to its pedagogical nature.

Though the tablature paper was printed in Paris, it cannot be ruled out that the contents of either manuscript might have been written out in Orléans, where Schermer spent much more time than in Paris. Interestingly, Schermer's friend Wilhelm Besserer, also a student at the University,⁹² owed some money to a "Mons. Morell" in Orléans. Identifying the latter with the lute master Guillaume Morel is tentative, but cannot be proved: Besserer's name indeed does not appear in Morel's already mentioned *Album amicorum*, nor do those of Schermer or of any of the three other students—Johann Christoph Wick, Daniel Vitus Neubronner and Tobias Neubronner⁹³—who acknowledged debts in Orléans on the same leaf as Besserer. Nevertheless, one of Morel's pupils, Hans Ulrich Schad von Mittelbiberach und Warthausen, who belonged to a patrician family from Ulm bound by marriages to the Schermers, wrote

⁹⁰ Laurent Guillo, "Les papiers à musique imprimés en France au XVII^e siècle: un nouveau critère d'analyse des manuscrits musicaux", *Revue de musicologie* 87/2 (2001): Misc. 132, main volume = PAP-4 (Ballard, p. 332); Misc. 132, loose leaf (j) = PAP-6 (attributed to Ballard, p. 333); Misc. 133a = PAP-28 (anonymous, p. 349); Misc. 133b = PAP-4 (Ballard, p. 332); Misc. 239 = PAP-2 (Ballard, p. 329).

⁹¹ This manuscript includes a setting of Psalm 42 from the Geneva Psalter (fol. 7r, untitled), a type of piece not found in any of the three others. The printed music paper with four-line staves, obviously meant for plainsong, surely would have been hard or impossible to find in Geneva, therefore it seems doubtful that the manuscript could have been copied during Schermer's residence there, but perhaps it was not long thereafter. According to Clytus Gottwald, a similar watermark is found on a Genevan document of 1620 (Gottwald, 79).

⁹² Orléans, Archives départementales du Loiret, D 242, p. 632 = fol. 348r, as "Wilhelmus Besserer Memingensis". The I.O.U.'s are in Ulm, Stadtarchiv, E Schermer 1, loose leaf III (see Appendix II).

⁹³ Two of them matriculated in March 1624 (day illegible on the microfilm) as "Johannes Christophorus Wick Ulmensis" and "Daniel Vitus Neübronnerus Ulmensis" (Ibid., p. 446 = fol. 256r), the third one on the same day as Schermer shown as "Tobias Neubronnerus Ulmanus Suevus" (Ibid., p. 469 = fol. 267v). Tobias Neubronner's *Stammbuch* is now housed in Tübingen, Universitätsbibliothek (Weimar, Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek, Stb 119); see the database *Stammbücher der Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek Weimar*, <http://www.inka.uni-tuebingen.de/stamm.php>.

entries both in his lute master's *album amicorum* (dated December 1624) and in Schermar's *Stammbuch* (dated from Orléans, 20 March 1626).⁹⁴ Moreover, many of Morel's pupils also appear in the matriculation records of the University.⁹⁵

Laroussière has inscribed the date 4 July 1626 at the beginning of Misc. 239: Thus this manuscript belongs to Schermar's last month in Paris and must have been completed before his definitive departure on 28 July. Misc. 133b may have been begun earlier, as Laroussière's hand appears there for two pieces only (fol. 44v-45v), and there is some variation in Schermar's hand throughout the manuscript. As one of the pieces noted by Laroussière is also found in an exactly identical form in Misc. 239, it remains doubtful if they were inscribed here before or after the completion of the latter manuscript.

But one may read on fol. 46v the mention "Commence Le 8 Octobris 1626" ("begun on 8 October 1626"), the very day of his matriculation at the University of Padua, though here it obviously refers to the beginning of Schermar's study with the anonymous master whose hand appears for the first time at the same place and who copied in the manuscript 36 pieces out of a total of 125.⁹⁶ Although both Schermar and his teacher continued to notate a mostly French repertoire in French tablature, the date shows that this section of the book was copied in Italy.⁹⁷ The unidentified master has also notated a few examples in tablature among rules about composition and intabulation on the mandore, obviously taken down by Schermar in a mixture of French and German during one or several lessons,⁹⁸ and added an alternative version for two

⁹⁴ F-Pn Ms. Fr. 25185, fol. 87v; Ulm, Stadtarchiv, F 7 Nr. 18, fol. 91v. Information about Schad kindly provided by Dr Stefan Lang. The already mentioned mathematician Jean Marrois likewise wrote an entry in Schermar's *Stammbuch*.

⁹⁵ For instance, the names of Jérôme de Lisola, Johann Philipp von Schönborn (together with those of his brother Philipp Erwin and of Friedrich Greiffenclau zu Vollrads), Adriaan Van der Houck, and Ambrosius Kolb, all matriculated in 1623, are found respectively on fol. 28r (4 July 1623), 88v (26 June 1625), 98r (22 November 1624), and 105r (26 June 1625) of Morel's *Album amicorum*, and on pp. 436-437 = fol. 251r-251v (June to August 1623) of the register D 242. The brothers Schönborn, their friend Greiffenclau von Vollrads, and their tutor Kolb matriculated together on 24 June 1623. I hope to devote a future paper to Morel and his pupils.

⁹⁶ See the inventory of the manuscript in Appendix III below.

⁹⁷ Schermar could have remained several weeks in Padua before moving to Bologna, where he matriculated at the University on the following 3 November, because according to the statutes of this University, students in Law were expected to matriculate as soon as they arrived in Bologna (information kindly supplied by the reference team of the University Library of Bologna, e-mail to the author, 1st June 2010).

⁹⁸ Misc. 132, fasc. (g), fol. [2r] and [2v]. Other examples in this fascicle refer explicitly to pieces numbered 11 and 73 in Misc. 133b (editorial numbering below: nos. 11 and 77).

bars of a piece previously notated by Schermar.⁹⁹ This suggests that Schermar studied for some time with him.

Interestingly, this hand also appears in PL-Kj Mus. ms. 40153, fol. 30v-38r, with a similar repertoire, this time for a ten-course lute. Most of the latter manuscript was written out in French tablature by Donino Garsi for his Polish student Stanisław Kazimierz Rudomina Dusiacki and toward the beginning is dated from Padua, 1620-1621.¹⁰⁰ We have seen that the anonymous master too was active in Padua, so Rudomina Dusiacki obtained the pieces from him during his time at the University.¹⁰¹ Of these, he also notated one, a ballet attributed elsewhere to Charles de Lespine,¹⁰² in Misc. 133b. Of the five other pieces, the courantes fol. 31r and fol. 37v-38r have exact concordances that reveal the former as a work by Gaultier (probably Ennemond),¹⁰³ while different settings are known for the ballet fol. 31v and the courante—on the tune otherwise known as *La Royale*—fol. 33v.¹⁰⁴ One of the two Italian tunes included by Schermar in Misc. 133b brings a further connection to PL-Kj Mus. ms. 40153, which contains a lute setting of the same piece.¹⁰⁵

⁹⁹ Misc. 133b, fol. 27v-28r, 3. *Branle du Baucane* with alternative version of bars 11-12 in the top left margin of fol. 21r.

¹⁰⁰ About this manuscript, see Coelho, 84-87. Coelho's suggestion that this hand could be Dusiacki's is to be discarded.

¹⁰¹ The same manuscript witnesses that an Italian lutenist like Donino Garsi could if necessary write in French tablature (cf. Coelho, 85); moreover, a *Corenta* (fol. 15v), attributed to [Ennemond?] Gaultier in CH-Bu F.IX.53, fol. 18v-19r, shows that he knew French music. (The same piece is found anonymously in another Italian source, I-PEas Archivio Fiumi-Sermattei della Genga VII-H-2, p. 99, this time in Italian tablature.) However, Garsi's repertoire is essentially Italian; he writes the titles in his native tongue and notes the bass courses with numbers. Schermar's unknown lute master, on the other hand, appears to have been an expatriated Frenchman, since he seems to play only French music; he notates the bass courses in the usual French manner with letters and ledger lines; and the few titles in his hand (in Misc. 133b) are in French. Besides, the fact that Schermar took down the rules for composition in a mixture of French and German suggests that his master spoke to him in French rather than in Italian.

¹⁰² Fol. 34v-35v. This piece bears no relation to the *Ballet des esclaves* set by Ballard (Coelho, 85-86 and 319); only the modulation towards the dominant at bars 3-4 present some melodic similarity. Lespine himself may have been in Turin at the time the piece was inscribed in PL-Kj Mus. ms. 40153, since he came there between 1621 and 1627 (cf. Kenneth Sparr, *Charles de Lespine, lutenist and composer*, <http://www.tabulatura.com/Lespine.htm>).

¹⁰³ The courante fol. 31r has exact concordances, both titled *Courante Gothier*, in CZ-Pnm IV.G.18, fol. 7r and GB-HAAdolmetsch II.B.1, fol. 278r. (For other courantes on the same tune, see Appendix III, no. 33, below). The courante fol. 37v-38r has an anonymous exact concordance in S-B PB fil 172, fol. 39v.

¹⁰⁴ Different settings of the anonymous ballet fol. 31v may be found in CZ-Pnm IV.G.18, fol. 14v-15r and US-R Vault M140.V.186S, p. 29. For other settings of the courante on fol. 33v, see Appendix III, no. 23, below. This particular version is different of that in the same key in CZ-Pnm IV.G.18, fol. 126v-127r.

¹⁰⁵ Fol. 88v-89r: *Italianisches Air*, found in PL-Kj Mus. ms. 40153, fol. 48v-49r, as *Vezzasetta bella*.

In Misc. 133b, the *Bataille* is placed as the first piece of the last section in the volume, entirely copied by the anonymous lute master after two unused pages (fol. 94v-102v). The transcriber selects only the trumpet-and-drums motives of Gaultier's piece, while he borrows the four first bars from the already mentioned *Bataille de Pavie* by Gaultier's fellow citizen, the enigmatic Mercure d'Orléans. The instrument is tuned to the *ton commun* (hfhf, realized d-g-d₁-g₁-d₂ or g-c₁-g₁-c₂-g₂¹⁰⁶), while the examples in Misc. 132 associate the lute's *ton de harpe* with the *accord à l'avallée* (ffhh, realized c-g-d₁-g₁-c₂ or f-c₁-g₁-c₂-f₂) or with the *ton nouveau* (hefh, realized c-g-c₁-e₁-b₁ or f-c₁-f₁-a₁-e₂). This may be explained in several ways. First, both manuscripts are not in the same hand, and all masters may not have thought the same about the equivalences between the tunings of the lute and the mandore. The transcriber may also have based himself on the excerpt from Mercure to select the tuning of the mandore. Or must we suppose the existence of an early version in *vieil ton* of Gaultier's *Bataille*? After all, the anonymous lutenist copied or transcribed, as far as its models have been identified, only pieces in this tuning. Since the accompaniment is played entirely on open strings, reconstructing a tablature in the earlier tuning presents no difficulty, and, if such a version ever existed, Gaultier would only have had to modify the stops on the first two choirs to "transpose" it into the *ton de la harpe*.

The following table shows the equivalences between the bar numbers of both versions:

<i>D-Us Smr misc. 133b</i>	<i>Pierre Gaultier</i>
1-4	(Mercure d'Orléans, 1-2, 4-5)
5-8	13-15
9-12	16-19
13-20	47-54
21-24	55-58
25-39	37-46
40-43	47-50
44-47	130-132 or 163-164
48	cf. 165
49-52	130-132 or 163-164
53-56	135-138
57-59	139-140
60-68	170-175

¹⁰⁶ About the pitches associated with the tunings, see below, fn. 140.

The occasional discrepancies in the number of measures between the two columns of the table have various causes. The repeats may be notated with a repeat sign in the printed book and in *extenso* in the manuscript. Some measures are repeated in the manuscript but not in Gaultier's version. In addition, the mandore book is not free from errors.

On the whole, though, one notes a surprising unanimity between these two sources, wide apart in time as they may be. For instance, the manuscript agrees with the tablature *f* on the first string in bar 136 of the lute version, that leads so well to the following motive, while Monique Rollin, who was not aware of the mandore arrangement, emends it as *e*, in order to end this section with a tonic chord.¹⁰⁷

Moreover, the anonymous scribe makes use of two grace signs, both also found in Pierre Gaultier's book and that also appear in PL-Kj Mus. ms. 40153: a cross (x) for the *tremblement* and an asterisk (*) for the vibrato. The first of them may be found in many sources, though not necessarily with the same meaning. On the contrary, I encountered the other one about the same time, but under the pen of the main scribe of CZ-Pnm IV.G.18, probably a Bavarian, who wrote in Italian tablature, and only in one piece in an *accord nouveau*.¹⁰⁸ In the *Bataille*, the graces are found at the same places in the manuscript as in the printed book, though the latter has a greater quantity of them. But the mandore version ends with a rather conventional perfect cadence that, in spite of the brilliance of its long articulated trill, lacks the originality of Gaultier's amazing ending with its imitation of a cannon shot. One must note, though, that the only complete manuscript copy of the *Bataille*, in Virginia Renata von Gehema's lute book (D-B Mus. ms. 40264), substitutes for the "cannon shot" a tonic chord in the last bar, and with a fourfold repetition of the letter *c* on the sixth course in its previous occurrences (mm. 163-164).

Twelve years later: Domenico Pellegrini's Battaglia francese for guitar

In 1650, the Bolognian publisher Giacomo Monti issued the *Armoniosi concerti sopra la chitarra spagnuola* of his fellow townsman, the

¹⁰⁷ In the foregoing measure, Monique Rollin has misread as *f* the *h* on the first string (fifth letter). The manuscript confirms the *h*.

¹⁰⁸ CZ-Pnm IV.G.18, fol. 189v-190r.

guitarist and “accademico filomusico” Domenico Pellegrini.¹⁰⁹ It included on pp. 24-26, as *Battaglia francese all'illustriss. Sig. padron mio colendissimo il Sig. Cornelio Malvasia senatore di Bologna*, another partial arrangement of the French lutenist's *Bataille*. Pellegrini devoted a few lines of his prefatory note *A gli studiosi della chitarra spagnuola* to the genesis of this piece:

Nella *Battaglia dedicata all'Illustrissimo Sig. Cornelio Malvasia*, hò tradotto molti mottivi d'intavolatura di Liuto alla Francese: non essendo io stato mai in Francia, ne havendo udito come si suonano le trombe nelle Battaglie. E perche resti sodisfatto chi potrebbe interrogarmi sopra di questo, m'è stato d'huopo il pigliarne esempio da qualche virtuoso, che habbia composto di simil materia.¹¹⁰

The dedicatee, Marquess Cornelio Malvasia (1603-1664), a senator of the city since 1628, was also a general in the service of Pope Urban VIII and then of Duke Francis of Modena, an ally of France during the Thirty Years War. Malvasia wrote various treatises about astronomy and two plays.¹¹¹ His military achievements on the side of France explain why Pellegrini chose to dedicate a “French” battle piece to him.

Pellegrini is one of the guitarist composers alluded to by Giovanni Battista Granata in the prefatory note *A' lettori of his Soavi concenti di sonate musicali* op. 4 (1659), also published by Giacomo Monti.¹¹² After defending himself against actual or potential allegations of plagiarism, Granata counter-attacks by accusing some of his colleagues of stealing their works from the publications of various lutenists and guitarists, both French and Italian:

¹⁰⁹ Facsimile editions, Firenze: Studio per edizioni scelte, 1978; Genève: Minkoff, 1985. Description and contents in Gary R. Boye, *The baroque guitar: printed music from 1606-1737* (<http://www.library.appstate.edu/music/guitar/1650pellegrini.html>).

¹¹⁰ Sig. §4v: “In the *Battle dedicated to the most illustrious Mr Cornelio Malvasia*, I have translated many motives from the French lute tablature: not having ever been in France myself, nor having heard how they sound the trumpets in the battles. And in order that whoever could question me about that may be satisfied, I have had to take an example from a certain virtuoso, who had composed similar material.” Quoted in Fabris, 317, who did not establish any connection with Gaultier's piece.

¹¹¹ Tommaso Nappo, ed., *Archivio biografico italiano II* (München: Saur, 1991-1994), microfiche 347, views 142-143; and *Archivio biografico italiano sino al 2001 (ABI IV)* (München: Saur, 2004), microfiche 288, view 442.

¹¹² Facsimile edition, Monte Carlo: Chanterelle, 1979. Description and contents in Boye (<http://www.library.appstate.edu/music/guitar/1659granata.html>).

. . . stimolato in oltre al comporre da zelo di riputatione, poiche verrebbe in parte denigrata, quando a qualche professore della chitarra spagnuola abbacinato da troppo stima di se, fosse caduto in cuore di dire perfidamente, per ambitione, ò per altro (che esso pure non sapesse distinguere) habbia ristampate, e rappezzate, ò fatte sue le di lui compositioni, e che per tale strada pretendia d'accreditarsi, mentre esso qual corvo d'Esopo si fosse vestato delle penne altrui, per comparire alle stampe. Mà perche i Valent'huomini di questa, come d'ogni altra professione,¹¹³ si fanno conoscere più a fatti, che a parole, e possono agevolmente senza loro far volumi intieri (quando occorresse) sù la chitarra spagnuola, e benche non siano nati come Minerva, sonatori; non hanno però bisogno della scuola di simili maestri. È ben vero, che mi rincresce, ch'ò abbia a dire di havere conosciuto, che questi medesimi habbino (come pur troppo si vede) spolpate le stampe de i Bertolotti, de i Piccinini da Bologna, de i Gottieri, de i Monsù de Fò, de i Foscarini, & altri, e le mie ancora, e trasportando dal Leuto alla Chitarra, dal Francese all'Italiano, e da un tuono in un altro, e vogliono sotto nomi anagrammatici con l'esaltar se stessi sepolire la fama altrui, com'è facile à conoscere da i Professori dell'arte.¹¹⁴

If "stampe" means exclusively printed works, one may identify the allegedly plagiarized works on this list as:

¹¹³ Could the words *valent'huomini and professione* in this sentence allude to the anonymous *Intavolatura di chitarra, e chitarriglia con le più necessarie, e facili suonate a chi si diletta di tal professione, havute da duo eccellenti professori* (Bologna: G. Monti, 1646) (facsimile edition, Firenze: Studio per edizioni scelte, 1980)? As the printer writes in his prefatory note (p. 5): "Mi sono capitate le seguenti suonate di chitarra, e chitarriglia, e per essere parti di due valenthuomini, non hò voluto perder questa occasione di compiacerne il tuo orecchio."

¹¹⁴ Pp. 10-11: ". . . stimulated moreover to compose out of zeal for my reputation, because it would be partly denigrated, if it would occur to some teacher of the Spanish guitar, blinded by too high an opinion of himself, to say deceptively that I would have reprinted and patched up, or made his compositions mine, out of ambition or some other motive (which he would, however, be unable to distinguish), and that I claimed in this way to give myself credit, while I, like Esopus's raven, would have clothed myself with the feathers of others in order to appear in print. But because the skillful people of this, like of every other trade, make themselves known more by actions than by words, and can easily produce without them complete volumes (when needed) on the Spanish guitar, and though they are not born players like Minerva, they have no need, however, to be schooled by such masters. It is true, which makes me sorry, that I have to say that I have known that the same have (as unfortunately it may be seen) plundered the printed books of Bartolotti, of Piccinini of Bologna,

- “i Bertolotti”: Angelo Michiele Bartolotti published two guitar books in 1640 and ca 1655¹¹⁵;
- “i Piccinini da Bologna”: Alessandro Piccinini’s two books of lute tablature, the first also containing music for chitarrone, were published in 1623 and 1639¹¹⁶;
- “i Gottieri”: to judge from the existing sources, the only Gaultier to have published any pieces at the time of Granata’s writing is Pierre Gaultier, unless pieces by Ennemond or Denis Gaultier did appear in some of the lost annual anthologies issued by Pierre Ballard¹¹⁷;
- “i Monsù de Fò”: the only pieces by François Dufault known to have been printed appeared in the anthologies published in 1631 and 1638 by Pierre Ballard; there may have been more of them in the lost issues of the same series¹¹⁸;
- “i Foscari”: the cumulative edition of Giovanni Paolo Foscari’s five guitar books appeared in 1640¹¹⁹;
- “le mie ancora”: Granata’s first three opus numbers appeared between 1646 and 1651.¹²⁰

of Gotti, of Monsù de Fò, of Foscari, and others, and mine also, and transporting from the lute to the guitar, from the French to the Italian, and from one key to another, and want, under anagrammatic names by exalting themselves to bury other people’s fame, as may be easily known from the professors of the art.” Also partially quoted by Dinko Fabris, 317 and Richard Pinnell, “The theorboed guitar: its repertoire in the guitar books of Granata and Gallot”, *Early Music*, 7/3 (July 1979): 324. I thank Rosalba Agresta and Dinko Fabris for checking my translation of Granata’s difficult Italian.

¹¹⁵ Angelo Michele Bartolotti, *Libro primo di chitarra spagnuola* (Firenze: [s.n.], 1640), and *Secondo libro di chitarra* (Roma: [s.n.], 1655); a facsimile of both books is published as Angelo Michele Bartolotti, *Libro primo et secondo di chitarra spagnuola* (Genève: Minkoff, 1984). Description and contents in Boye (<http://www.library.appstate.edu/music/guitar/1640bartolotti.html> and <http://www.library.appstate.edu/music/guitar/1655bartolotti.html>).

¹¹⁶ Alessandro Piccinini, *Intavolatura di liuto, e di chitarrone. Libro primo* (Bologna: eredi di G. P. Moscatelli, 1623); *Intavolatura di liuto. Libro secondo* (Bologna: G. Monti e C. Zenero, 1639); facsimile edition of both books published as Alessandro Piccinini, *Intavolatura di liuto, et di chitarrone*, (Firenze: Studio per edizioni scelte, 1983).

¹¹⁷ About these lost anthologies, see Guillo, vol. 2, 194.

¹¹⁸ Thirteen pieces in *Tablature de luth de differens auteurs, sur les accords nouveaux*, Paris: P. Ballard, 1631, and ten more in *Tablature de luth de differens auteurs, sur les accords nouveaux*, Paris: P. Ballard, 1638. See Guillo, vol. 2, 1631-D, pp. 256–257 and 1638-F, pp. 318–319. All these pieces have been edited in André Souris and Monique Rollin, eds., *Œuvres de Dufault*, Paris: Éditions du CNRS, 2/1988.

¹¹⁹ Giovanni Paolo Foscari, *Li cinque libri della chitarra alla spagnuola*, [Roma?]: [s.n.], [1640]. Facsimile edition, Firenze: Studio per edizioni scelte, 1979. Description and contents in Boye (<http://www.library.appstate.edu/music/guitar/1640foscarini.html>).

¹²⁰ Giovanni Battista Granata, *Capricci armonici sopra la chitarriglia spagnuola*, Bologna: G. Monti, 1646 (facsimile edition, Firenze: Studio per edizioni scelte, 1978); *Nuove sonate di chitarriglia spagnuola piccicate, e battute*, [s.l.: s.n., ca 1650]; *Nuova scielta di capricci armonici e suonate musicali in vari tuoni... Opera terza*, Bologna: [s.n.], 1651. Description and contents in Boye (<http://www.library.appstate.edu/music/guitar/1646granata.html>, <http://www.library.appstate.edu/music/guitar/1650granata.html>, <http://www.library.appstate.edu/music/guitar/1651granata.html>)

Pellegrini's dances clearly show his awareness of French lute music, and he arranges at least one French tune,¹²¹ but I have been unable to find in his book any other piece than the *Battaglia francese*—a borrowing that he himself acknowledges, even if he does not name the original composer—that would fit Granata's accusations. Ironically, several of the Italian composers mentioned by Granata as plagiarized, including himself, may be found guilty of unacknowledged borrowings in their own publications, of which a list—which further research probably would expand—will be found below.¹²²

Let us now come back to the *Battaglia francese*,¹²³ which belongs to the first series of pieces (in D major) of this book organized by keys. Like the French arranger of the version for mandore, Pellegrini retains only the trumpet-and-drums motives, but a different selection of them. The three introductory motives are not borrowed from Gaultier and I was not able to identify any earlier source for them. They may thus have been composed especially by Pellegrini. The following table gives the correspondance between Pellegrini's and Gaultier's measure numbers. Since the barring of the guitar piece proves very erratic and lacunar in the original edition, I place in parentheses the measure numbering in the transcription provided with the present article.

<i>Pellegrini</i>	<i>Gaultier</i>
1–3	—
4–6	—
7–9 (7–10)	—
10–17 (11–23)	24–36
18–22 (24–33)	37–46
23–26 (34–37)	47–50
27–29 (38–41)	55–58
30–35 (42–47)	63–68
36–45 (48–59)	69–80

¹²¹ The *Brando primo* is a setting of a tune known as *Branle de Metz* (see PAN no 11.004 for some lute sources).

¹²² See Appendix IV.

¹²³ Other guitarists had published *battaglie* before Pellegrini: Giovanni Ambrosio Colonna, *Il secondo libro d'intavolatura di chitarra alla spagnuola*, [S.l.: s.n., 1620], p. 33, *Battaglia* (alfabeto); Giovanni Paolo Foscarini, *Intavolatura di chitarra spagnola, libro secondo*, Macerata: G. B. Bonomo, 1629, p. 31, *Battaglia* (alfabeto); Giovanni Paolo Foscarini, *Il primo, secondo e terzo libro...*, p. 30, *Battaglia* (mixed tablature), reissued in his subsequent cumulative editions of 1632 and 1640; Ferdinando Valdambrini, *Libro primo d'intavolatura di chitarra a cinque ordino*, Roma: [s.n.], 1646, p. 26, *Battaglia*, followed on the same page by Girometta (mixed tablature). Most of them have been identified thanks to Boye's website.

46–50 (60–65)	112–116 (or rather 63–68)
51–57 (66–74)	117–126
58 (75–77)	127–129
59–61 (78–80)	130–132
62 (81–82)	137–138
63 (83–84)	139–140
64–68 (85–90)	151–155 (or rather 63–68)
69–77 (91–99)	117–126
78 (100–102)	161–162 (or rather 127–129)
79–80 (103–105)	165–167
81 (106–108)	168–169

Almost entirely written in *stile pizzicato*, which betrays its lutistic origins, Pellegrini's arrangement seldom diverges from its model (bars 32–33 of Gaultier), but omits or repeats here and there a measure from the original piece. The alternative tonic and dominant drone is played on the open two last courses. The introduction of unknown origin presents, after three bars of arpeggiated D major chords, a march tune on the same drone, thus blending very naturally with Gaultier's piece.

The graces maintained by Pellegrini generally occur at the same places as in the original piece. In the measures corresponding to Gaultier's measures 25 and 26, the guitarist adds the dynamic marks *piano* and *forte* respectively. Contrary to the early French arranger, but in keeping with the copy in Virginia Renata von Gehema's lute book, he replaces the vibrato by the T meaning a *tremolo semplice*. He concludes in a manner closer to the original piece than either of both manuscript versions, by replacing both tonic chords in Gaultier's measure 169 (the last he selected for his arrangement) by the dominant played *forte* on the open fifth course, which obviously renders the final "cannon shot."

Conclusion

The early version for mandore brings evidence that in 1626 Pierre Gaultier had already composed lute music that was known to a French lute master active in Padua. Identifying the *Bataille* as a work from Gaultier's youth accounts for its using the *ton de la harpe*, that enjoyed the favor of lutenists in the mid-1620s, but had fallen out of use in France at the

time of the piece's publication in 1638.¹²⁴ Some questions may be raised, which, alas, will have to remain unanswered:

- Did the piece already exist in 1626 in its complete published form, which the arranger (or his source) would have mutilated, or did Gaultier later rework and enlarge the work (by himself or another composer) that in its original state would have consisted only of a series of fanfare motives?
- Could the whole work, and not only the few measures by *Mercure d'Orléans*, have been composed first in the *vieil ton* and later transposed by Gaultier himself into *ton de la harpe par bécarré*?
- Was it only the arranger's choice to bring together portions of similar works by two men from Orléans but belonging to different generations, or is there some unknown connection between *Mercure* and Pierre Gaultier?
- Might the 27-year old Pierre Gaultier have been the lutenist who taught Schermer in Padua and the arranger of his own piece, and a few years later have been known to Foscarini as an exponent of the newest French tunings?

Pellegrini's arrangement cannot claim to shed new light about the genesis of the piece. However, it provides at least a hint about the diffusion of Pierre Gaultier's work in Italy. If this is meant by Granata's denouncing the plagiarisms of "I Gottieri"'s pieces, as seems very likely, we may infer that the works of the lutenist from Orléans were still well enough known in Italy more than twenty years after their publication to be identified as such from an arrangement not bearing the original composer's name.

¹²⁴ However, Bernardo Gianoncelli's posthumous publication *Il liuto di Bernardo Gianoncelli detto il Bernardello* (Venetia: [s.n.], 1650) includes four pieces for 13-course archlute in this tuning, the remainder of the book being in *vieil ton* (p. 10: *Tastegiata*; *Corrente* with *La sua spezzata*; p. 11: *Corrente* with *la sua spezzata*; p. 12: *Corente* with *la sua spezzata*).

APPENDIX I

**GAULTIER'S *BATAILLE*, ITS SOURCES AND
ARRANGEMENTS IN SYNOPTICAL PRESENTATION
(MEASURE NUMBERS)**

<i>Pierre Gaultier</i>	<i>Remarks</i>	<i>D-Us Smr misc. 133b</i>	<i>Pellegrini</i>
1-7	Tune from <i>Ballet des insensés</i>		
8-12	Tune from <i>Ballet des insensés</i> (cont'd)		
13-15		5-8	
16-19		9-12	
20-23			
24-36			10-17 (11-23)
37-46		25-39	18-22 (24-33)
47-54		13-20; 40-43 [= 47-50]	23-26 (34-37) [= 47-50]
55-58		21-24	27-29 (38-41)
59-62			
63-68			30-35 (42-47)
69-80	<i>J'ai vu le loup, le renard, la b'lette</i> (bars 73-80)		36-45 (48-59)
81-87			

88–91			
92–95			
96–98			
99–105			
106–109			
110–111	<i>Guilleri</i>		
112–129			46–58 (60–77)
130–132		44–47	59–61 (78–80)
133–136		53–54 [= 135–136]	
137–138		55–56 [= 137–138]	62 (81–82)
139–140		57–59	63 (83–84)
141–144	<i>Marche royale</i>		
145–148	<i>Marche royale</i> (cont'd)		
149–150	<i>Guilleri</i>		
151–162			64–68 (85–90) [= 151–155], 78 (100–102) [= 161–162]
163–167		49–52 [= 163–164], 48 [cf. 165]	79–80 (103–105) [= 165–167]
168–175		60–68 [= 170–175]	81 (107–108) [= 168–169]

APPENDIX II

ANTON SCHERMAR'S TRAVELS, 1622-1628

Schermar's travels from 1622 to 1628 are here summarized from Ulm, Stadtarchiv, E Schermar 1, except otherwise indicated.¹²⁵ When names of places, such as referred to by Schermar, either are not identical to their present denominations or have not been identified, their first occurrence is transcribed in italics and, if identified, followed by the form in use nowadays. When Schermar's spelling is identical with that presently in use, it is transcribed in roman without further commentary (diacritics, however, are editorial). In order to avoid ambiguities, places are identified with their geographical position and present-day postal code. The abbreviation of the canton is also added to places in Switzerland. It is hoped that this summary will be helpful to researchers of Schermar's music manuscripts.

1622

[E Schermar 66, f. [1r]] 25 March: Ulm (D-89073, 48° 24' N, 9° 59' E) – Tübingen (D-72070, 48° 31' N, 9° 03' E). Returns at an unknown date.

1623

[1r] 10 September: Ulm – Ehingen (D-89584, 48° 17' N, 9° 43' E) – Riedlingen (D-88499, 48° 09' N, 9° 28' E)

11 September: Riedlingen – *Pfulendorff* (Pfullendorf, D-88630, 47° 55' N, 9° 15' E) – Steißlingen (D-78256, 47° 48' N, 8° 55' E)

[1v] 12 September: Steißlingen – *Schaffhaußen* (Schaffhausen SH, CH-8200, 47° 42' N, 8° 38' E) – *Kajserstuol* (Kaiserstuhl AG, CH-5466, 47° 34' N, 8° 25' E)

[2r] 13 September: Kaiserstuhl – Baden AG (CH-5400, 47° 28' N, 8° 18' E) – *Nellingen* (Mellingen AG, CH-5507, 47° 25' N, 8° 16' E) – *Landtes-*

¹²⁵ E Schermar 1 consists of the following: (1) a main booklet of 32 unnumbered leaves containing the description of Schermar's travels from 10 September 1623 to his arrival in Lyon (fol. [1r-15r]), followed by notes about the main places and personalities as well as the administrative divisions of France, probably compiled from Schermar's readings, since he mentions cities he apparently did not visit himself, e.g. Bordeaux, Toulouse, Caen, Metz or Sedan; (2) a duernion consisting of two loose bifolia (3 written fols., the fourth blank) containing a brief account of his travels in France; (3) three loose leaves containing, respectively, the list of the places visited during the journey to the Netherlands and England, a brief account of the journey from Paris to Ulm, and a *Memmoire de ce que Guillaume Besserer doit en Orleans* with I.O.U.'s signed by Schermar and his friends.

burg (Lenzburg AG, CH-5600, 47° 23' N, 8° 11' E) – *Aarau* (Aarau AG, CH-5000, 47° 24' N, 8° 04' E)

[2v] 14 September: Aarau – Solothurn SO (CH-4500, 47° 12' N, 7° 32' E)

15 September: Solothurn – *Bira* (Büren an der Aare BE?, CH-3294, 47° 08' N, 7° 22' E) – *Arberg* (Arberg BE, CH-3270, 47° 03' N, 7° 16' E) – *Murten* (Murten FR, CH-3280, 46° 55' N, 7° 07' E)

[3r] 16 September: Murten – *Wifflispurg* (Avenches VD, CH-1580, 46° 53' N, 7° 03' E) – *Pätterlingen* (Payerne VD, CH-1530, 46° 49' N, 6° 56' E) – *Mulden* (Moudon VD, CH-1510, 46° 40' N, 6° 48' E) – *Losannen* (Lausanne VD, CH-1000, 46° 31' N, 6° 36' E)

[4r] 17 September: Lausanne – Morges VD (CH-1110, 46° 30' N, 6° 30' E) – *Roll* (Rolle VD, CH-1180, 46° 27' N, 6° 20' E) – *Nion* (Nyon VD, CH-1260, 46° 23' N, 6° 14' E) – *Copet* (Coppet VD, CH-1296, 46° 19' N, 6° 11' E) – *Versoy* (Versoix GE, CH-1290, 46° 17' N, 6° 10' E) – Genève GE (CH-1200, 46° 12' N, 6° 09' E)

Stays in Genève until 30 April 1624

1624

[5r] 1st May:¹²⁶ Genève – S. Claude (Saint-Claude, F-39200, 46° 23' N, 5° 52' E) – *Bone* (Bonne, F-74130, 46° 10' N, 6° 19' E) – *Roche* (La-Roche-sur-Foron, F-74800, 46° 04' N, 6° 18' E) – Bonneville (F-74130, 46° 04' N, 6° 26' E)

Returns to Genève and stays there until 6 August.

[6r]¹²⁷ 7 August: Genève – Versoix – Coppet – Nyon – Abbey of Bonmont (in Chésérèx VD, CH-1275, 46° 24' N, 6° 09' E) – Rolle

[7r] 8 August: Rolle – Morges – Lausanne – Lutry VD (CH-1095, 46° 30' N, 6° 41' E) – *S. Saphorin* (Saint-Saphorin VD, CH-1071, 46° 28' N, 6° 48' E) – *Vevay* (Vevey VD, CH-1800, 46° 28' N, 6° 51' E)

[7v] 9 August: Vevey – *Chilon* (Castle Chillon, in Veytaux VD, CH-1820, 46° 25' N, 6° 55' E) – *La Roche* (Roche VD, CH-1852, 46° 22' N, 6° 55' E) – *Bez* (Bex VD, CH-1880, 46° 15' N, 7° 01' E)

[8v] 10 August: Bex – *S. Moriz* (Saint-Maurice VS, CH-1890, 46° 13' N, 7° 00' E) – Sion VS (CH-1950, 46° 13' N, 7° 21' E)

¹²⁶ The year is not specified.

¹²⁷ This tour is described in French, under the title *Briefue description du tour du Lac de Geneve, et des avenues du Rhosne*. It appears to be out of place chronologically, since the tour in Savoie (16 September) is described immediately before. Perhaps Schermer took his notes on separate leaves and wrote them out later in his main diary.

11 August: Sion

[12r] 12 August: Sion – Saint-Maurice

13 August: Saint-Maurice – Le Bouveret VS (CH-1897, 46° 23' N, 6° 51' E) – S. Gingo (Saint-Gingolph VS, CH-1898, 46° 23' N, 6° 48' E) – Lugrin (F-74500, 46° 24' N, 6° 40' E) – *Evian* (Évian-les-Bains, F-74500, 46° 23' N, 6° 35' E) – *Thonon* (Thonon-les-Bains, F-74200, 46° 21' N, 6° 28' E)

[12v]: 14 August: Thonon-les-Bains – Genève

Stays in Genève until 26 August.

[12v]: 27 August:¹²⁸ Genève – *Colonge* (Collonges, F-01550, 46° 08' N, 5° 54' E) – *Longarret* (Longeray, F-01200, 46° 06' N, 5° 53' E)

28 August: Longeray – Seyssel (F-01420, 45° 57' N, 5° 50' E) – *Belay* (Belley, F-01300, 45° 45' N, 5° 51' E)

[13r] 29 August: Belley – *Hoste* (Aoste, F-38490, 45° 35' N, 5° 36' E) – *Siran* (Chirens, F-38850, 45° 24' N, 5° 33' E or Sillans, F-38590, 45° 20' N, 5° 23' E)

30 August: Chirens or Sillans – Brion (F-38590, 45° 17' N, 5° 20' E) – Grenoble (F-38000, 45° 11' N, 5° 43' E)

[13v] 31 August: Grenoble – *Vigile* (Vizille, F-38220, 45° 05' N, 5° 46' E)

1st September: Vizille – *Bartolemi* (Saint-Barthélemy, F-38270, 45° 21' N, 5° 05' E) – *Graing* (La Grange, a hamlet of Vif, F-38450, 45° 39' N, 5° 02' E) – Vif (F-38450, 45° 03' N, 5° 40' E) – *Pont du Clay* (Le Pont-de-Claix, F-38800, 45° 07' N, 5° 42' E) – Grenoble – Brion – Chirens or Sillans

[14r] 2 September: Chirans or Sillans – *Vorpiliere* (La Verpillière, F-38290, 45° 38' N, 5° 08' E) – *Loren* (Saint-Laurent-de-Mure, F-69720, 45° 41' N, 5° 02' E)

[14v] 3 September: Saint-Laurent-de-Mure – *Moran* (perhaps Marennes, F-69970, 45° 22' N, 4° 32' E) – *Lion* (Lyon, F-69000, 45° 45' N, 4° 50' E)

Stays two days in Lyon.

5 or 6 September: Lyon – Genève

Stays in Genève until 15 September.

¹²⁸ This tour is described in German, under the title *Raifß in Dauphine, mit einem Ampassateur de Gene gethan*. Likewise, it is out of place chronologically, possibly for the same reason.

[5v] 16 September: Genève – *Pomie* (Abbey of Pomier, in Présilly, F-74160, 46° 05' N, 6° 04' E) – *Corseille* (Cruseilles, F-74350, 46° 02' N, 6° 06' E) – *Nissi* (Annecy, F-74000, 45° 55' N, 6° 08' E) – *Arbi* (Alby-sur-Chéran, F-74540, 45° 49' N, 6° 01' E) – *Aix* (Aix-les-Bains, F-73100, 45° 41' N, 5° 55' E) – *Chamberi* (Chambéry, F-73000, 45° 34' N, 5° 54' E) – Aix-les-Bains – *S. Innocent* (Saint-Innocent, F-73100, 45° 43' N, 5° 53' E) – *Chatillon* (Castle Châtillon, in Chindrieux, F-73310, 45° 48' N, 5° 50' E) – *Sessel* (Seyssel) – Longaret (Longeray) – [Genève] Stays in Genève until 1st March 1625

1625

[14v] 2 March¹²⁹: Genève – *Jency* (Chancy GE, CH-1284, 46° 09' N, 5° 58' E) – *Coulonge* (Collonges) – *Longaray* (Longeray) – *Chatillon* (Châtillon-en-Michaille, F-01200, 46° 08' N, 5° 48' E)

[15r] 3 March: Châtillon-en-Michaille – *Nerole* (Les Neyrolles, F-01130, 46° 08' N, 5° 38' E) – Nantua (F-01130, 46° 09' N, 5° 36' E) – *Saint Martin du Fraisme* (Saint-Martin-du-Frêne, F-01430, 46° 08' N, 5° 33' E) – *La Dalme* (Labalme, F-01450, 46° 05' N, 5° 29' E) – *Sardon* (Cerdon, F-01450, 46° 05' N, 5° 28' E) – *Je jereu* (Jujurieux, F-01640, 46° 02' N, 5° 24' E) – *Saint Jean Le vieux* (Saint-Jean-le-Vieux, F-01640, 46° 01' N, 5° 23' E) – *Embournay* (Ambronay, F-01500, 46° 00' N, 5° 21' E) – *Chasteo Gaillard* (Château-Gaillard, F-01500, 46° 58' N, 5° 18' E)

4 March: Château-Gaillard – *La Vertonne* (La Valbonne, 01360, 45° 27' N, 5° 07' E) – *La Bois* (La Boisse, 01120, 45° 50' N, 5° 02' E) – Lyon Stays in Lyon until 24 April.

[duernion, f. 1r] 23 April¹³⁰: Lyon – *Wiene* (Vienne, F-38200, 45° 31' N, 4° 52' E)

24 April: Vienne – Valence (F-26000, 44° 56' N, 4° 53' E)

25 April: Valence – Avignon (F-84000, 43° 57' N, 4° 49' E)

26 April: Avignon

¹²⁹ In French, under the title *De Geneve à Lion*. The year is not specified. Schermer writes in E Schermer 66 (the words in square brackets added in a margin): "1624. Bin ich Franckreich durchraist, [die vornembste Statte besichtiget], u. Paris als Lion jeder dreymahlen betroffen" (1624. I have traveled through France, visited the main cities, and reached Paris and Lyon three times each), curiously without mentioning Orléans, where he spent several months. The year is correct only in respect to his first visit to Lyon (2 September 1624). He traveled through France mainly during the two following years.

¹³⁰ All the contents of the duernion are in German. The year is not specified.

27 April: Avignon – *Orege* (Orange, F-84100, 44° 08' N, 4° 48' E) – *Chasteauneuf* (Châteauneuf-du-Pape, F-84230, 44° 03' N, 4° 50' E)

28 April: Châteauneuf-du-Pape – Avignon – *Orge* (Orgon, F-13660, 43° 07' N, 5° 02' E)

29 April: Orgon – *Sinia* (Sénas, F-13660, 43° 07' N, 5° 02' E) – *Aix* (Aix-en-Provence, F-13100, 43° 32' N, 5° 27' E) – Marseille (F-13000, 43° 17' N, 5° 22' E)

Stays in Marseille until 3 May.

4 May: Marseille – Arles (F-13200, 43° 40' N, 4° 37' E) – *Bouerre* (Beaucaire, F-30300, 43° 48' N, 4° 38' E)

5 May: Beaucaire – *Pont du Garde* (Pont-du-Gard, F-30210, 43° 58' N, 4° 31' E) – *S. Privat* (castle Saint-Privat, 43° 56' N, 4° 30' E) – Nîmes (F-30000, 43° 50' N, 4° 31' E)

[duernion, f. 1v] 6 May: Nîmes – *Lonel* (Lunel, F-34400, 43° 40' N, 4° 08' E) – Montpellier (F-34000, 43° 36' N, 3° 52' E)

Stays in Montpellier until 3 June because of illness.

4 June: Montpellier – Lunel – Nîmes

5 June: Nîmes – *Donegere* (Pont-du-Gard?)¹³¹ – *S. Esprit* (Pont-Saint-Esprit, F-30130, 44° 15' N, 4° 39' E)

6 June: Pont-Saint-Esprit – Montélimar (F-26200, 44° 33' N, 4° 55' E) – *La Sans, ein Gasthaus*

7 June: *La Sans* – Valence (F-26000, 44° 56' N, 4° 53' E) – *S. Vallin* (Saint-Vallier, F-26240, 45° 10' N, 4° 49' E)

8 June: Saint-Vallier – *Wine* (Vienne)

9 June: Vienne – *Lion* (Lyon)

Stays in Lyon until 28 June.

29 June: Lyon¹³² – Tarare (F-69170, 45° 53' N, 4° 26' E)

30 June: Tarare – *Rouane* (Roanne, F-42300, 46° 02' N, 4° 04' E) – *La Bacquaudiere* (La Pacaudière, F-42310, 46° 10' N, 3° 52' E)

1st July: La Pacaudière – *Varane* (Varennes-sur-Allier, F-03150, 46° 18' N, 3° 24' E) – Moulins (F-03000, 46° 34' N, 3° 20' E)

2 July: Moulins – *S. Piere le Moitie* (Saint-Pierre-le-Mouëtier, F-58240, 46° 47' N, 3° 07' E) – Nevers (F-58000, 46° 59' N, 3° 09' E)

¹³¹ Not Donzère, which is nearer to Montélimar than Pont-Saint-Esprit.

¹³² When the enthusiastic amateur lutenist Bullen Reymes travelled from Paris to Lyon nine years later (13 to 20 September 1633), he stopped at exactly the same places as Schermer (*Diaries 1633–1636*, privately owned).

3 July: Nevers – *La Cheritte* (La Charité-sur-Loire, F-58400, 47° 10' N, 3° 01' E) – *Cone* (Cosne-sur-Loire, F-58200, 47° 24' N, 2° 55' E)

4 July: Cosne-sur-Loire – *Priere* (Briare, F-45250, 47° 38' N, 2° 44' E) – *Montarchis* (Montargis, F-45200, 47° 59' N, 2° 44' E)

[duernion, f. 2r] 5 July: Montargis – *Mily* (Milly-la-Forêt, F-91490, 48° 24' N, 2° 28' E) – *Esone* (Essonnes, F-91100, 48° 36' N, 2° 28' E)

6 July: Essonnes – Paris (F-75000, 48° 51' N, 2° 21' E)

Stays in Paris until 13 August, with the exception of two short tours:

29 July:¹³³ Paris – *S. Germin* (Saint-Germain-en-Laye, F-78100, 48° 53' N, 2° 05' E)

1st August: [Saint-Germain or Paris?] – Fontainebleau (F-77300, 48° 24' N, 2° 42' E)

[loose leaf I, recto]¹³⁴ 13 to 20 August: Paris – *S. Denis* (Saint-Denis, F-93200, 48° 56' N, 2° 21' E) – *Louure* (Louvres, F-95380, 49° 02' N, 2° 30' E) – Senlis (F-60300, 49° 12' N, 2° 35' E) – *St Christoffel* (Saint-Christophe-en-Halatte, F-60700, 49° 15' N, 2° 35' E) – *pont Maxaunc* (Pont-Sainte-Maxence, F-60700, 49° 18' N, 2° 36' E) – *Gournay* (Gournay-sur-Aronde, F-60190, 49° 29' N, 2° 40' E) – *Roy* (Roye, F-80700, 49° 42' N, 2° 47' E) – Péronne (F-80200, 49° 55' N, 2° 56' E) – *Cambray* (Cambrai, F-59400, 50° 10' N, 3° 14' E) – *Vallancien* (Valenciennes, F-59300, 50° 21' N, 3° 31' E) – *Possy* (Boussu, B-7300, 50° 27' N, 3° 47' E) – *Bergen* (Mons, B-7000, 50° 27' N, 3° 57' E) – *Sonny* (Soignies, B-7060, 50° 34' N, 4° 04' E) – *Notre dame de haut* (a statue of the Holy Virgin in Sint-Martinusbasiliek in Halle, B-1500, 50° 44' N, 4° 14' E) – *Brussell* (Bruxelles / Brussel, B-1000, 50° 50' N, 4° 21' E) – Leuven (B-3000, 50° 52' N, 4° 42' E) – *Mecheln* (Mechelen, B-2800, 51° 01' N, 4° 28' E) – *Andtorf* (Antwerpen, B-2000, 51° 13' N, 4° 23' E) – *Gentd* (Gent, B-9000, 51° 03' N, 3° 42' E) – *Bruck* (Brugge, B-8000, 51° 12' N, 3° 13' E) – *Ostende* (Oostende, B-8400, 51° 13' N, 2° 54' E) – *Neupord* (Nieuwpoort, B-8620, 51° 07' N, 2° 45' E) – *Dunckirch* (Dunkerque, F-59140, 51° 02' N, 2° 22' E) – *Greueline* (Gravelines, F-59820, 50° 59'

¹³³ In the manuscript: *den 29 July*.

¹³⁴ Headed: *1625. 13 Augusti*. This is a mere list of places, with the name of the province to which they belong, but without precise dates. The duernion states only: "Den 13. August von Paris außgereist. Und auff den Raiff verbliben biß auff den 15 8bris. Kamen auff daß mittagessen selbig tag wieder nach Paris alda verbliben." Schermer E 66 states: "1625. Den 23 Junij zoge ich von Franckhreich in die Niederlanden." This seems hard to reconcile with the chronology above. The same source gives likely dates for the embarkations from Calais to England (20 August), from Gravesand to Vlissingen (27 August), and from Vlissingen to Calais (4 October).

N, 2° 07' E) – *Cales* (Calais, F-62100, 50° 56' N, 1° 51' E). Takes a boat to Dover on 20 August.

20 to 27 August: *Douer* (Dover, 51° 07' N, 1° 18' E) – *Canterberg* (Canterbury, 51° 16' N, 1° 04' E) – *Sittingborn* (Sittingbourne, 51° 34' N, 0° 74' E) – *Rochester* (51° 23' N, 0° 29' E) – *Grauesandt* (Gravesend, 51° 26' N, 0° 22' E) – *Lund* (London, 51° 30' N, 0° 07' W) – *Hammerschmiedt* (Hammersmith, 51° 29' N, 0° 13' W) – *Rischmundt* (Richmond, 51° 27' N, 0° 18' W) – *Hampten court* (Hampton Court, 51° 24' N, 0° 20' W) – *Stepnie* (Stepney, 51° 30' N, 0° 02' W) – Windsor (51° 28' N, 0° 36' W) – London – Gravesend. Takes a boat to Vlissingen on 27 August.

27 August to 4 October: *Fließingen* (Vlissingen, NL-4380, 51° 27' N, 3° 35' E) – *Mittellburgk* (Middelburg, NL-4380, 51° 27' N, 3° 35' E) – *Fehre* (Veere, NL-4350, 51° 33' N, 3° 32' E) – *Plad* – Dordrecht (NL-3300, 51° 48' N, 4° 40' E) – *Rotterdam* (Rotterdam, NL-3000, 51° 55' N, 4° 30' E) – Delft (NL-2600, 50° 00' N, 4° 21' E) – *Haag* (Den Haag, NL-2491, 52° 05' N, 4° 18' E) – *Leyden* (Leiden, NL-2300, 52° 09' N, 4° 29' E) – *Harlem* (Haarlem, NL-2000, 52° 22' N, 4° 36' E) – *Ambsterdam* (Amsterdam, NL-1000, 52° 22' N, 4° 54' E) – *Horn* (Hoorn, NL-1620, 52° 39' N, 5° 03' E) – *Enckhausen* (Enkhuizen, NL-1600, 52° 42' N, 5° 18' E) – Amsterdam – *Vtrecht* (Utrecht, NL-3500, 52° 05' N, 5° 06' E) – *Bodagrave* (Bodegraven, NL-2410, 52° 05' N, 4° 46' E) – Leiden – Den Haag – Rotterdam – Dordrecht – *Platt* – Tholen (NL-4675, 51° 31' N, 4° 13' E) – *Bergen ob Sohm* (Bergen-op-Zoom, NL-4600, 51° 30' N, 4° 17' E) – Middelburg – Vlissingen. Takes a boat to Calais on 4 October.

4 to 15 October: Calais – *Poloingne* (Boulogne-sur-Mer, F-62200, 50° 43' N, 1° 36' E) – *Montrellie* (Montreuil, F-62170, 50° 27' N, 1° 45' E) – Abbeville (F-80100, 50° 06' N, 1° 50' E) – *Eraine* (Airaines, F-80270, 49° 57' N, 1° 56' E) – *Poix* (Poix-de-Picardie, F-80290, 49° 46' N, 1° 59' E) – *Bouois* (Beauvais, F-60000, 49° 25' N, 2° 05' E) – *Boumont* (Beaumont-sur-Oise, F-95260, 49° 08' N, 2° 17' E) – Saint-Denis – Paris. Stays in Paris until 25 October.

[duernion, fol. 2r] 26 October¹³⁵: Paris – *Lena* (Linas, F-91310, 48° 37' N, 2° 16' E) – *Etampe* (Étampes, F-91150, 48° 26' N, 2° 09' E)

27 October: Étampes – *Turri* (Tourey, F-28310, 48° 11' N, 1° 56' E) – Or-

¹³⁵ In the manuscript: *den 26 8bris*. There is a change in pen and ink at this place.

léans (F-45000, 47° 54' N, 1° 54' E)

Stays in Orléans until 30 March 1626. Matriculates at the University on 19 November 1625.

1626

30 March: Orléans – Paris

Stays in Paris until 1st April

2 April: Paris – Orléans

Stays in Orléans until 8 April

9 April: Orléans – *Bloys* (Blois, F-41000, 47° 35' N, 1° 19' E)

10 April: Blois – Amboise (F-37400, 47° 24' N, 0° 58' E)

[duernion, fol. 2v] 11 April: Amboise – Tours (F-37000, 47° 23' N, 0° 41' E) – *Tres* (?), *nuhr ein post hauß*

12 April: *Tres* (?) – *Soumur* (Saumur, F-49400, 47° 15' N, 0° 04' W)

13 April: Saumur – *Angiers* (Angers, F-49000, 47° 28' N, 0° 33' W)

14 April: Angers – *Ingrande* (Ingrandes, F-49400, 47° 24' N, 0° 55' W)

15 April: Ingrandes – *Ancenj* (Ancenis, F-44150, 47° 22' N, 1° 10' W) – *Miuve* (Mauves-sur-Loire, F-44470, 47° 17' N, 1° 23' W)

[duernion, fol. 3r] 16 April: Mauves-sur-Loire – Nantes (F-44000, 47° 13' N, 1° 33' W) – *S. George* (Saint-Georges-de-Montaigu, F-85600, 46° 56' N, 1° 17' W)

17 April: Saint-Georges-de-Montaigu – *Gentene* (Chantonay, F-85110, 46° 51' N, 1° 02' W) – *Langon* (Le Langon, F-85370, 46° 26' N, 0° 56' W)

18 April: Le Langon – *Mareng* (Marans, F-17230, 46° 18' N, 0° 59' W) – *Rochelle* (La Rochelle, F-17000, 46° 09' N, 1° 09' W)

19 April: La Rochelle

20 April: *Fort S. Luis* (Fort-Louis, at La Rochelle)

21 April: La Rochelle – *S Miol* (Niort, F-79000, 46° 19' N, 0° 27' W)

22 April: Niort – Soudan (F-79800, 46° 25' N, 0° 06' W) – *Collombiere* (Coulombiers, F-86600, 46° 29' N, 0° 11' E)

23 April: Coulombiers – *Poitiers* (Poitiers, F-86000, 46° 34' N, 0° 20' E) [duernion, fol. 3v] 24 April: Poitiers – *Chauviere* (Chauvigny, F-86300, 46° 34' N, 0° 38' E) – *Blant* (Le Blanc, F-36300, 46° 38' N, 1° 03' E)

25 April: Le Blanc – *Nairet* (Nuret-le-Ferron?, F-36400, 46° 41' N, 1° 26' E) – *Chasteaurou* (Châteauroux, F-36000, 46° 48' N, 1° 41' E)

26 April: Châteauroux – *Esudain* (Issoudun, F-36100, 46° 57' N, 1° 59' E) – Bourges (F-18000, 47° 05' N, 2° 23' E)

27 April: Bourges

28 April: Bourges – *La Fere ein gasthauß*

29 April: La Fere – Orléans.

Stays in Orléans until 29 June.

29 June¹³⁶: Orléans – *Turj* (Tourey) – Estampe (Étampes)

30 June: Étampes – Linas – Paris

[loose leaf II, recto]: 28 July¹³⁷: Paris – *Mottrich ein fleckh* (Montreuil?, F-93100, 48° 51' N, 2° 26' E)

29 July: Montreuil? – *Mio* (Meaux, F-77100, 48° 57' N, 2° 27' E) – Bussières (F-77750, 48° 55' N, 3° 14' E)

30 July: Bussières – *Montmiral* (Montmirail, F-51210, 48° 52' N, 3° 32' E) – *Estage* (Étoges, F-51270, 48° 52' N, 3° 51' E)

31 July: Étoges – *Burges etliche höffe* (Bergères-lès-Vertus?, F-51130, 48° 52' N, 4° 00' E) – *Chalon* (Châlons-en-Champagne, F-51000, 48° 57' N, 4° 21' E) – *Poys* (Poix, F-51460, 48° 57' N, 4° 37' E)

1 August: Poix – *Vandencourt* (Vernancourt, F-51330, 48° 51' N, 4° 49' E) – *Par le duc* (Bar-le-Duc, F-55000, 48° 46' N, 5° 09' E)

2 August: Bar-le-Duc – *S. Tobin* (Saint-Aubin-sur-Aire, F-55500, 48° 42' N, 5° 26' E) – *Poys* (Void?, F-55190, 48° 41' N, 5° 37' E)

3 August: Void? – *Tou* (Toul, F-54200, 48° 40' N, 5° 53' E) – *Nancj* (Nancy, F-54000, 48° 41' N, 6° 11' E)

4 August: Nancy – *Nicolas port* (Saint-Nicolas-de-Port, F-54100, 48° 37' N, 6° 18' E)

[loose leaf II, verso] 5 August: Saint-Nicolas-de-Port – *Jubilet* (Huviller, now Jolivet, F-54300, 48° 36' N, 6° 30' E) – *Blanckenburg* (Blâmont, F-54450, 48° 35' N, 6° 50' E)

6 August: Blâmont – *Sarberg* (Sarrebouurg, F-57400, 48° 44' N, 7° 03' E) – *Pfalzburg* (Phalsbourg, F-57370, 48° 46' N, 7° 15' E)

7 August: Phalsbourg – *Zabern* (Saverne, F-67700, 48° 44' N, 7° 21' E) – *Straßburg* (Strasbourg, F-67000, 48° 35' N, 7° 44' E)

8 August: Strasbourg

9 August: Strasbourg – *Wilstatt* (Willstätt, D-77731, 48° 33' N, 7° 54'

¹³⁶ The original reads 29 July and 30 July, but these dates cannot be brought in agreement with

(1) the dating of Smr misc. 239 from Paris, 4 July 1626;

(2) Robert Dolbeau's receipt to Schermer for 300 pounds, dated Paris, 10 July 1626; and

(3) Schermer's departure from Paris on 28 July [1626].

Perhaps Schermer added this entry only in the first days of July and dated the journey inadvertently from the current month, not of the actual month in which it took place, as we have seen he had done for the journey of 29 July 1625, but this time did not correct the error.

¹³⁷ Headed: *Raiß von Paris nach Straßburg durch Tübingen auff Ulm*. The year is not specified, but may be deduced from E Schermer 66: "1626. Den 13 Augusti weilen meine liebe Anfraw [?] Marx Neupronneren Seelig ersterbe, beschriben meine Herren Vormunden mich von Paris nacher Haus, zur Erbschaft."

E) – *Oppenaw* (Oppenau, D-77728, 48° 28' N, 8° 10' E)

10 August: Oppenau – Freudenstadt (D-72250, 48° 28' N, 8° 25' E)

E) – *Eutingen* (Eutingen im Gäu, D-72184, 48° 29' N, 8° 45' E)

11 August: Eutingen – Rottenburg (Rottenburg am Neckar, D-72108, 48° 29' N, 8° 56' E) – Tübingen

12 August: Tübingen – *Aurach* (Bad Urach, D-72574, 48° 30' N, 9° 24' E)

13 August: Bad Urach – Soppingen (D-89150, 48° 29' N, 9° 41' E) – Ulm
Stays in Ulm until 5 September.

[E Schermar 66, fol. [1r]] 6 September: departs for Italy, where he sees various cities, including Rome and Loreto.¹³⁸

[E Schermar 57] 3 November: immatriculated at Bologna University

1627

[E Schermar 75] exact date unknown: immatriculated at Siena University

1628

[E Schermar 66, f. [1v]] 1st April: arrives in Ulm from Italy.

¹³⁸ E Schermar 66: "[1626, cont'd] Den 6. September zoge ich von Ulm, nacher Italien, und sahe [die vornembste u.] vihl schöner Statt, sonderlich Rom, u. alle vornembste Orth, Srätte, u. Sachen, auch Loreto das Haus der Mutter Jesu [der Papistens sag (?) nach]." (On 6 September I departed from Ulm toward Italy and saw the main and many beautiful cities, in particular Roma, and all main places, cities and things, also Loreto the house of the Mother of Jesus [thus say (?) the Papists]).

APPENDIX III

INVENTORY OF D-Us Smr Misc. 133b

VII-95 (originally 96)-VI fol., with recent foliation 1-108.¹³⁹ 200 mm x 142 mm. Original parchment cover with ms. title: *Mandor Buch*. On the inner lower cover: *Wie ein Mandor sol bezogen U[nd]. die touchen gesetzt werden. / Wie der hals wegen der bendt zu accomodiren* [text ends here] (Five printed 5-line staves to a page (paper PAP-4).

Hands: A = Anton Schermar; B = unknown; C = unknown French lute master active in Italy (ascriptions to pieces in this hand added in Schermar's hand except otherwise indicated); D = Simon Le Jumentier, sieur de Laroussière.

*Tunings*¹⁴⁰: hfhf = d-g-d₁-g₁-d₂ (*ton commun*); ffhf = d-g-d₁-g₁-c₂ (*ton de quarte*); efhf = d-g-d₁-g₁-b (*ton de tierce*).

Ascriptions from the manuscript are italicized (please note that the numbering of pieces is in a recent hand from no. 100 on), additions or corrections to the original ascriptions are in square brackets. The description of each piece includes:

- a) hand, tuning and key
- b) if relevant, informations about the origin of the melody, labelled "Model"
- c) if relevant, exact concordances (introduced by " = ") and different settings (introduced by "cf." within Schermar's mandore manuscripts, then in other sources.) I have not endeavoured to provide an exhaustive listing

¹³⁹ When I examined the manuscripts in 1989, Misc. 133b was not foliated, nor was it on the microfilm I had obtained previously, so I devised my own foliation, taking into account only the music paper and considering the blank leaves at both ends as endpapers. I became aware that the book had been newly foliated meanwhile only after I bought Gottwald's catalogue in the course of my work on this article. In my earlier writings, I have thus used my "virtual" foliation, to the folio numbers of which one must add 7 to bring them in agreement with the actual foliation.

¹⁴⁰ Pitches and keys after Misc. 132, p. 1 and fasc. (e), (f) and (g). The transcriptions of the examples in staff notation in Misc. 132—if they are meant to match the key of the model—up to p. 24 (inclusive) agree with these pitches. From p. 25 on, a mandore tuned one fourth higher (g-c₁-g₁-c₂-g₂, as in Marin Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle. Livre second des instruments* (Paris: P. Ballard, 1636), 93, would not only match the keys of the models in staff notation, but also of those in lute tablature if the lute is tuned with the sixth course in G. In fasc. (g), the examples from Misc. 133b, no. 73 (editorial no. 77), mm. 9-10 and no. 11, mm. 1 and 17-19) illustrate the following rather obscure statement: "Man kan die geigen stimmen zum Mandor auff ein 5 - 4 oder tierztz aber nicht so leichtlich als mit der ander u. der second" ("One can tune the violin to the mandore to a fifth, fourth or third, but not so easily as with the second [string?] and the [interval of?] second"): From the examples, one can understand that Schermar recommends tuning the second string (a1) of the violin to the second fret of the second string of the mandore. The first part of the sentence must allude to the three possible ways of tuning the first string.

of concordances that would have taken a lot of space. Indeed, few of the pieces have exact concordances, and most of them belong to the series of Schermar's manuscripts, unless one can identify a definite lute piece as model of the mandore version. Therefore, only the various occurrences of the same pieces or melodies in the various Schermar manuscripts are listed, and references providing a more precise identification of the piece or of its model (either editions or articles with lists of concordances or a precise source). Concordances within Misc. 133b are referred to with the editorial numbering only.

- | | | |
|---|---------|--|
| | 1r-7v | [blank, unruled] |
| 1 | 8r(a) | <p>1. / <i>Pantalon</i>.
 Hand A. Tuning hfhf. G major.
 Model: Bergamasca ground = Misc. 133a, fol. 1r (untitled); cf. no. 71; cf. Misc. 239, fol. 2v-3v; various settings listed in CLF Vallet, Livre I, no. 33</p> |
| 2 | 8r(b) | <p>2. / <i>Ballet du Roy</i>.
 Hand A. Tuning hfhf. G major.
 Model: 1st entry of <i>Ballet des sorciers</i>, danced in 1601
 Cf. F-Pn Rés. F. 496, p. 12</p> |
| 3 | 8v-9r | <p>3 / <i>En revenant / de S. Nicolas</i>.
 Hand A. Tuning hfhf. G major.
 Model: <i>En me revenant de Saint-Nicolas</i>, anonymous air de cour = Misc. 133a, fol. 1v-2r; cf. no. 53; cf. Misc. 132, pp. 6(b) and 7(b) (two versions in F and G major, bass only in staff notation); various settings listed in Goy 2006, 278</p> |
| 4 | 9v | <p>4. / <i>Ballet de Gre / nouille</i>.
 Hand A. Tuning hfhf. G major.
 Model: perhaps an excerpt of the <i>Ballet des folles</i> danced in 1601 after the title in GB-Cu Dd.9.33 (not in F-Pn Rés. F. 496, p. 16)
 = Misc. 133a, fol. 2v-3r; cf. GB-Cu Dd.9.33, fol. 57v-58r (lute) among various lute settings</p> |
| 5 | 10r | <p>5. / <i>Courante</i>.
 Hand A. Tuning hfhf. G minor.
 Model: tune of Jean Boyer's air de cour <i>Sa beauté extrême</i> = Misc. 133a, fol. 6v; various settings listed in Goy 2006, 283</p> |
| 6 | 10v-11r | <p>6. / <i>La Vignonne</i>.
 Hand A. Tuning hfhf. G minor.
 = Misc. 133a, fol. 3v-4r; cf. nos. 60 and 90; cf. Misc.</p> |

- 132, pp. 46–48 (lute version and two mandore arrangements of the same); various settings listed in CLF Vallet, Livre I, no. 70
- 7 11v-12r 7 / *Courante la / Vallette*.
Hand A. Tuning hfhf. G major.
= Misc. 133a, fol. 4v–5r; cf. no. 27; various settings listed in CLF Vallet, Livre II, no. 20
- 8 12v 8. / *Gailliarde*
Hand A. Tuning hfhf. G major.
= Misc. 133a, fol. 5v; cf. no. 48; cf. Misc. 239, fol. 19v–21r (by Laroussière); various settings listed in PAN no. 13.107
- 9 13r 9. / *Gailliarde*.
Hand A. Tuning hfhf. G minor.
= Misc. 133a, fol. 6r
- 10 13v-14r 10 / *Courante*.
Hand A. Tuning hfhf. G major.
Model: tune of the anonymous air de cour *Privé de deux beaux yeux*
= Misc. 133a, fol. 8r–7v; various settings listed in Goy 2006, 280
- 11 14v-15r 11. / *C[ourante] La Princesse*.
Hand A. Tuning hfhf. G minor.
= Misc. 133a, fol. 7r–6v; various settings listed in CLF Vallet, Livre I, no. 72
- 12 15r 12. / *J'endure / un fâcheux / ennuy*.
Hand A. Tuning hfhf. G major.
Model: *J'endure un fâcheux ennui*, anonymous air de cour
= Misc. 133a, fol. 8v; various settings listed in Goy 2006, 279
- 13 15v 13. / *Le Cure de / Mole*.
Hand A. Tuning hfhf. G minor.
Model: “Le curé de Maule” (the vicar of Maule, a town about 30 km west of Versailles) was one of the characters of a *Ballet de Monsieur* (Gaston d'Orléans, Louis XIII's brother) danced in 1626; it is unsure if the tune arranged here has any connection with this ballet¹⁴¹
= no. 43; cf. nos. 44 and 62; various settings listed in

¹⁴¹ Libretto attributed to Tristan L'Hermite, *Vers du balet de Monsieur frère du Roy*, [S.l.: s.n.], 1626 (available online at <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k58302770>). Five of the *récits* from this ballet were set by Antoine Boësset (*Ballet de Monsieur, Airs de cour avec la tablature de luth de Anthoyne Boësset... Treziesme livre*, Paris: P. Ballard, 1626, fol. 14v–19r), including a *Récit pour le Curé de Mosle*, musically unrelated to the tune set here. The original words of the latter are unknown, and if originally included in the ballet, it may have been an instrumental number. On this tune a number

- PAN no. 13.116
- 14 16r 14. / *Heureux / séjour*.
Hand A. Tuning hfhf. G minor.
Model: *Heureux séjour de Parthénisse*, air de cour by Antoine Boësset
Cf. no. 35; various settings listed in Goy 2006, 281
- 15 16v 15. / *Volte*.
Hand A. Tuning hfhf. G major.
- 16 17r 16. / *Sus sus ber= / gere*.
Hand A. Tuning hfhf. G major.
Model: *Sus, sus bergers et bergerettes*, air de cour by Pierre Guédron
Various settings listed in Goy 2006, 286
- 17 17v(a) 17 / *Au trop / heureux*.
Hand A. Tuning hfhf. G major. With varied repeat for strain B at fol. 11(b).
Model: *Ô trop heureux*, air de cour by Antoine Boësset
Cf. Misc. 132, pp. 12–13 (treble and bass and two mandore intabulations); various settings listed in Goy 2006, 282
- 18 17v(b) 18 / *Vn Passage*.
Hand A. Tuning hfhf. G major.
Cf. nos. 25 and 51 for more developed versions of the same piece
- 19 18r 19 / *Quittez vos / campagne*.
Hand A. Tuning hfhf. G minor.
Model: *Quittez vos campagnes*, air de cour by Antoine Boësset
Various settings listed in Goy 2006, 282
- 20 18v 20 / *Belle Caliste*.
Hand A. Tuning hfhf. G major.
- 21 19r 21. / *Courante*.
Hand A. Tuning hfhf. G major.
- 22 19v 22. / *Courant*.
Hands A (strain A) and B (strain B). Tuning hfhf. G major.
- 23 20r 23. / *La Royale*.
Hand A. Tuning hfhf. G major.
Model: tune of the anonymous air de cour *Philis qui sans dessein de me vouloir plaire*
Cf. Misc. 132, pp. 42–43 (lute version and its mandore

of *parodies* in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were written, and it survives in a number of French folk songs (Patrice Coirault, *Notre chanson folklorique*, Paris: A. Picard, 1942, 464).

- arrangement); various settings listed in PAN no. 4.013;
various settings listed in Goy 2006, 280
- 24 20v-21r 24 / *La Mingarde*. [La Mignarde]
Hand A. Tuning hfhf. G major.
Cf. GB-Ctc O.16.2, p. 123
- 25 21v 25 / *Passage*.
Hand A. Tuning hfhf. G major.
= a more developed version of no. 18; cf. no. 51 for a still
more developed version
- 26 22r 26. / *a qui atera / le temps*.
Hand A. Tuning hfhf. G minor.
Model: *Las ! qui hâtera le temps*, air de cour by Pierre
Guédron
Various settings listed in Goy 2006, 286
- 27 22v-23r 27. / *Courante* [La Vallette]
Hand A. Tuning hfhf. G major.
Cf. no. 7
- 28 23v-24r 28. / *Sarabande* [Marion pleure]
Hand A. Tuning hfhf. G major.
Cf. PAN no. 5.001
- 29 24v 29 / *Vn Jour Cori / don et sa / dame*.
Hand A. Tuning hfhf. G major.
- 30 25r 30 / *Gailliarde*.
Hand A. Tuning hfhf. G major.
- 31 25v-26r 31 / *Courante*.
Hand A. Tuning hfhf. G major.
Cf. CLF Ballard, Livre II, pp. 37–39
- 32 26v 32. / *J'aimeray tous / jours ma / fille*.
Hand A. Tuning hfhf. G major.
Model: *J'aimerai toujours ma Philis*, anonymous air de
cour
Various settings listed in Goy 2006, 279
- 33 27r 33. / *Courante*.
Hand A. Tuning hfhf. G minor.
Model: tune of Jean Boyer's air *Ton mérite belle Mar-
guerite*
Various settings listed in Goy 2006, 283
- 34 27v-28r 34. / *Branle du / Baucane*. [Branles de Bocan. Premier branle]
Hand A. Tuning hfhf. G minor. Alternative version of
bars 11–12 in hand C.
Model (nos. 34, 35, 37, 38 and 40): suite of branles by
Jacques Cordier, a.k.a. Bocan. The various arrangements
do not agree on the numbering or the tunes of some of
the branles.

- Cf. Misc. 239, fol. 50r and 50v–51r; cf. François de Chancy, *Tablature de mandore*, Paris: P. Ballard, 1629, fol. 15v–16r; various settings listed in PAN nos. 11.002 and 11.001
- 35 28v(a) 35 / *Branle gay*. [Branles de Bocan. Branle gay]
Hand A. Tuning hfhf. G minor.
Cf. no. 14; cf. Misc. 239, fol. 52r; cf. François de Chancy, fol. 16v
- 36 28v(b) [Fragment of passage]
Hand B. Tuning hfhf. G major.
= fragment of no. 51
- 37 29r 36. / *Branle amené* [Branles de Bocan. Branle à mener]
Hand A. Tuning hfhf. G minor.
Model: tune of *Heureux séjour de Parthénisse*, air de cour by Antoine Boësset (cf. no. 14)
Cf. Misc. 239, fol. 53v–54r; cf. François de Chancy, fol. 16v–17r, as *Branle de Poitou*.
- 38 29v–30r 37. / *Branle Poic=* / tu. [Branles de Bocan. Branle de Poitou]
Hand A. Tuning hfhf. G minor.
Cf. Misc. 239, fol. 52v–53r; cf. François de Chancy, fol. 17r, as *Branle double de Poitou*
- 39 30r [Two fragments of passages]
Hand B. Tuning hfhf. G major.
= fragment of no. 51
- 40 30v–31r 38 / *Branle Mon=* / tirente. [Branles de Bocan. Branle de Montirandé]
Hand A. Tuning hfhf. G minor.
Cf. François de Chancy, fol. 17v
- 41 31v–32r 39. / *Courante*.
Hand A. Tuning ffhf (with tuning diagram). G major.
- 42 32v–33r 40. / *Sarabande*.
Hand A. Tuning hfhf. G major.
Cf. Misc. 132, pp. 6(a) and 7(a) (two versions in F and G major, bass only in staff notation)
- 43 33r 41. / *Le Cure de / Mole*.
Hand A. Tuning hfhf. G major.
= no. 13 except for a few changes in the bass; cf. nos. 44 and 62
- 44 33v–34r 42. / [Le curé de Maule] *Variation*. [René Mesangeau]
Hand A. Tuning hfhf. G minor.
Cf. nos. 13, 43, 62; = transcription of PAN 13.116 A
- 45 34v–35r 43. / *Courante*. [Isabelle]
Hand A. Tuning hfhf. G minor.
Cf. PAN no. 4.189

- 46 35v-36r 44 / *La Bouree*
Hand A. Tuning hfhf. G minor.
Cf. CLF Vallet, Livre I, no. 43
- 47 36r [Passage]
Hand B. Tuning hfhf. G major.
= fragment of no. 18
- 48 36v 45. / *Le Pomperton*. [Le Pont Breton]
Hand A. Tuning hfhf. C major.
Cf. Misc. 239, fol. 1r-2r (different setting by Larous-
sière, with double); various settings listed in PAN no.
13.034
- 49 37r 46 / *Sarabande*.
Hand A. Tuning ffhf (with tuning diagram). G minor.
- 50 37r-36v [Passage]
Hand B. Tuning ffhf. G minor.
- 51 37v-38r 47 / *Passage*.
Hand A. Tuning hfhf. G major.
= a still more developed version of nos. 18 and 25, also
including nos. 36 and 39
- 52 38v-39r 48. / *Gailliarde*
Hand A. Tuning hfhf. G major.
Cf. no. 8
- 53 39v-40r 49 / *Quant Je re= / mue tout / branle*
Hand A. Tuning hfhf. G major.
cf. no. 3
- 54 40v-41r 50 / *Janneton*. [Baise-moi ma Jeanneton]
Hand A. Tuning hfhf. G major.
Cf. PAN no. 13.035
- 55 41v 51 / *Branle 1*
Hand A. Tuning hfhf. G minor.
- 56 42r 52 / *Branle 2*
Hand A. Tuning hfhf. G minor.
- 57 42v 53 / *Branle 3*
Hand A. Tuning hfhf. G minor.
- 58 43r 54 / *Branle 4*
Hand A. Tuning hfhf. G major.
- 59 43v-44r 55 / *Lobon et / Margot* [Robin et Margot]
Hand A. Tuning hfhf. G minor.
Cf. PAN no. 13.036
- 60 45r-44v 56 / *La Vignonne*.
Hand D. Tuning hfhf. G minor.
= Misc. 239, fol. 6v-7r (same hand); cf. nos. 6 and 90
- 61 45v 57 / *Branle de / uilage*.
Hand D. Tuning hfhf. G major.

- 62 46r 58 / *Gauotte* [Le Curé de Maule]
Hand A. Tuning hfhf. G minor.
Cf. nos. 13, 43, 44
- 63 46v-47r *Commence Le 8 Octobris / 1626. / 59 / Courante.*
Hand C. Tuning ffhf. C major.
- 64 47v-48r 60 / *Courante* [Ennemond (?) Gaultier]
Hand C. Tuning ffhf. F major
Transcription of GB-HAdolmetsch II.B.1, fol. 185r (lute)
- 65 48v-49r 61 / *Entree*
Hand C. Tuning ffhf. C major.
- 66 49v 62 / *Air.*
Hand C. Tuning ffhf. C minor.
- 67 50r 63. / *Remi Remi.*
Hand A. Tuning hfhf. B flat major.
Model: *Rémi, Rémi, mon cher ami*, parody of *Allons, allons porter nos pas*, air de cour by Antoine Boësset
= Misc. 239, fol. 55v; = Misc. 132, fol. h IIv, but with more harmonic filling; various settings listed in Goy 2006, 282
- 68 50v-51r 64 / *Air duple*
Hand C. Tuning ffhf. C minor.
Double of no. 66
- 69 51v 65 / *E[n]tree.*
Hand A. Tuning hfhf. G major.
- 70 52r 66 / *Entree.*
Hand A. Tuning hfhf. G major.
- 71 52v-53r 67 / *Pantalon*
Hand A. Tuning hfhf. G major.
Cf. no. 1
- 72 53v-54r 68 / *Pasamezo* [moderno]
Hand A. Tuning hfhf. G major.
Cf. Misc. 239, fol. 41v-43r
- 73 54v-55r 69 / *Pauana* [italiana]
Hand A. Tuning hfhf. G minor.
Cf. Misc. 239, fol. 45v-46; cf. Misc. 132, p. 6(c) (bass only in staff notation); various settings listed in CLF Vallet, Livre I, no. 46 (lute)
- 74 55v 70 / *Ballet.*
Hand A. Tuning hfhf. G minor.
- 75 56r 71 / *Ballet.*
Hand A. Tuning hfhf. G minor.
- 76 56v 72 / *Courante*
Hand A. Tuning hfhf. G major.

- 77 57r 73 / *Courante*
Hand A. Tuning hfhf. G major.
- 78 57v 74 / *Courante*.
Hand A. Tuning hfhf. G major.
- 79 58r 75 / *Courante*
Hand A. Tuning hfhf. G minor.
- 80 58v 76 / *Sarabande*
Hand A. Tuning hfhf. G major.
- 81 59r 77 / *Sarabande*
Hand A. Tuning hfhf. G major.
- 82 59v-60r 78 / *Sarabande*
Hand A. Tuning hfhf. G major.
- 83 60v-61r 79 / *Sarabande*
Hand A. Tuning hfhf. G major.
Various settings listed in CLF Vallet, Livre I, no. 79 (lute)
- 84 61v-62r 80 / *Sarabande*
Hand A. Tuning hfhf. G minor.
Cf. no. 98; PAN no. 5.006
- 85 62v-63r 81 / *Ballet / du grand / Turq* [Ennemond (?) Gaultier]
Hand C. Tuning hfhf. G major.
Transcription of CZ-Pnm IV.G.18, fol. 91v (lute)
- 86 63v-64r 82 / *Duple*. [Second part of the *Ballet du Grand Turc*, no. 85]
[Ennemond (?) Gaultier]
Hand C. Tuning hfhf. G major.
Cf. CZ-Pnm IV.G.18, fol. 92r-92v (lute)
- 87 64v-65r 83 / *Courante*.
Hand C. Tuning ffhf. C minor.
- 88 65v-66r 84. / *Courante*
Hand C. Tuning ffhf. C minor.
Another setting of no. 5
- 89 66v-67r 85. / *Courante*
Hand C. Tuning hfhf. C minor.
- 90 67v-68r 86 / *Lauignone*.
Hand A. Tuning hfhf. G minor.
Cf. nos. 6 and 60
- 91 68v-69r 87 / *Air* [third part of the *Ballet du Grand Turc*, no. 81]
[Ennemond (?) Gaultier]
Hand C. Tuning hfhf. G major.
Transcription of CZ-Pnm IV.G.18, fol. 92v-93r and
S-B fil 172, fol. 41r (lute)
- 92 69v-70r 88. / *ballet*. [Charles de Lespine]
Hand C. Tuning hfhf. G major.
Transcription of PL-Kj Mus. ms. 40153, fol. 34v-35v
(lute, AA'BB', same hand); other concordances: Kenneth
Sparr, Appendix, no. 8

- 93 70v-71r 89 / *Courante*
Hand C. Tuning f^hf. C major.
- 94 71v-72r 90. / *Air*
Hand C. Tuning f^hf. C major.
- 95 72v-73r 91 / *Courante*
Hand C. Tuning f^hf. C major.
RUS-Span O N° 124, fol. 49r(a) (lute)
- 96 73v-74r 92 / *Courante*.
Hand C. Tuning f^hf. C major.
- 97 74v-75r 93 / *Courante*
Hand C. Tuning h^hf. G minor.
Cf. PAN no. 4.076 (lute)
- 98 75v-76r 94 / *Saraban*.
Hand C. Tuning h^hf. G minor.
Cf. no. 84
- 99 76v-77r 95 / *Courante*
Hand C. Tuning h^hf. G major.
- 100 77v-78r 96 / *Courante*
Hand C. Tuning h^hf. G minor.
- 101 78v-79r 97 / *Ballet*
Hand C. Tuning h^hf. G minor.
- 102 79v-80r 98 / *Courante*
Hand C. Tuning f^hf. C minor.
- 103 80v-81r 99 / *Courante*
Hand C. Tuning f^hf. C minor.
- 104 81v-82r 100 / *Ballet*
Hand C. Tuning f^hf. C minor.
- 105 82v-83r 101. / *Courante*
Hand C. Tuning e^hf. G major.
- 106 83v-84r 102 [Courante]
Hand C. Tuning e^hf. G major.
- 107 84v-85r 103 [Courante]
Hand C. Tuning e^hf. G major.
- 108 85v-86r 104 [Courante]
Hand C. Tuning e^hf. G major.
- 109 86v 105 [Sarabande]
Hand C. Tuning e^hf. G major.
[one folio missing]
- 110 87r 106. / *Aufzug*.
Hand A. Tuning h^hf. G minor.
- 111 87v-88r 107 / *Aufzug*.
Hand A. Tuning h^hf. G minor.

- 112 88v-89r 108 / *Italiansches / Air*. [Vezzasetta e bella]¹⁴²
Hand A. Tuning hfhf. G minor.
Cf. PL-Kj 40153, fol. 48v-49r (lute); I-PESc Rari Ms.
b. 10, f. 25v (lute)
- 113 89v 109 / *Courante* [Caliste]
Hand A. Tuning hfhf. G major.
Cf. Misc. 132, pp. 64-65 (lute setting and two mandore
arrangements of the same); Misc. 239, fol. 4v-5r and
3v-4r (Laroussière's setting, with double); various set-
tings listed in PAN no. 4.003 (lute)
- 114 90r 110 / *Courante*
Hand A. Tuning hfhf. G minor.
= no. 125
- 115 90v-91r 111 / *Amor poi / che non giouane*.
Hand A. Tuning hfhf. G minor.
Model: *Amor poi che non giovano*, anonymous villanella
Cf. Pietro Millionì, ed., *Prima scielta di villanelle accomodate con l'intavolatura per cantare sopra la chitarra spagnola* (Roma: G. Facciotti, 1627), 15-16.
Cf. [Tommaso Marchetti?], *Il primo libro d'intavolatura della chitarra spagnola* (Roma: Catalani), 49 (guitar); reissued in Tommaso Marchetti, *Il primo libro d'intavolatura della chitarra spagnola* (Roma: F. Moneta, 1660), 49
- 116 91v-92r 112 / *Courante*.
Hand A. Tuning hfhf. G minor.
- 117 92v 113 / *Courante*.
Hand A. Tuning hfhf. G major.
= no. 118
- 118 93r 114 / *Courante*
Hand A. Tuning hfhf. G major.
= no. 117
- 93v-94r [empty staves]
- 119 94v-97r 115 [to] 117 [Bataille] [Mercure d'Orléans and Pierre Gaultier]
Hand C. Tuning hfhf. G major.
Partial transcription of CLF Mercure, I, no. 24 A and
CLF Pierre Gaultier, no. 103 (PAN no. 12.004) (lute)

¹⁴² Musically unrelated to the works sharing the same textual incipit by Giovanni Righi (*Il secondo libro delle Canzonette a tre voci*, Venezia: G. Vincenti, 1607, p. 10), Filippo Vitali (*Musiche a una, due e tre voci... Libro terzo*, Roma: L. A. Soldi, 1620, pp. 22-23), and anonymous (I-Bc Q.140, fol. 17r-17v; modern edition in John Walter Hill, *Roman monody, cantata, and opera from the circles around Cardinal Montalto*, vol. 2 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 127; my thanks to Philippe Canguilhem for checking this piece).

- 120 97v-98r 118 / *allemande*
Hand C. Tuning hfhf. G major. Title at the end in hand C.
- 121 98v-99r 119 / *Courante* [Ennemond Gaultier]
Hand C. Tuning hfhf. G minor. Title at the end in hand C
Cf. Misc. 239, fol. 36v-37r (different setting by Laroussière); transcription of PAN no. 4.116 (lute)
- 122 99v-100r 120 / *Courante*
Hand C. Tuning ffhf. C minor. Title at the end in hand C
- 123 100v-101r 121 / *Courante* [Ennemond (?) Gaultier]
Hand C. Tuning ffhf. G minor.
Transcription of CZ-Pnm IV.G.18, fol. 100v-101r (lute).
- 124 101v-102r 122 [*Courante*]
Hand C. Tuning hfhf. G major.
- 125 102v 123 [*Courante*]
Hand C. Tuning hfhf. G minor.
= no. 114
103r-108v [blank, unruled]

APPENDIX IV **UNACKNOWLEDGED “BORROWINGS” IN THE WORKS OF THE GUITARISTS** **MENTIONED BY GRANATA AS PLAGIARIZED**

Here is a list of the borrowings by Granata and the Italian composers mentioned in the preface of the *Soavi concerti* that I have been able to identify. In order to save space, only one source or a modern edition of the original version will be mentioned.

Source		
Piece	Original work and its source(s)	Remarks
Alessandro Piccinini, <i>Intavolatura di liuto, e di chitarrone. Libro primo</i> (1623)		
<i>Gagliarda VI</i> (pp. 60–61)	A gagliarda by the Cavaliere del liuto (Vincenzo Pinti) (Besard, <i>Thesaurus harmonicus</i> , fol. 107 ^{v(a)})	A copy in Italian tablature with varied repeats by Piccinini
Alessandro Piccinini, <i>Intavolatura di liuto. Libro secondo</i> (1638)		
<i>Saravanda alla Francese</i> (pp. 20–21)	<i>La sarabande espagnole</i> and a gaillarde by Nicolas Vallet, (CLF Vallet, <i>Premier livre</i> , nos. 79 and 82)	A faithful copy in Italian tablature
<i>Corrente VII</i> (pp. 30–31)	A volte by Antoine Francisque (<i>Le trésor d'Orphée</i> , Paris: P. Ballard, 1600), fol. 29 ^{v(b)})	A faithful copy in Italian tablature
<i>Corrente VIII</i> (p. 31)	A courante by Antoine Francisque (<i>Le trésor d'Orphée</i> , Paris: P. Ballard, 1600), fol. 26 ^{r(a)})	A faithful copy in Italian tablature

Giovanni Paolo Foscari, <i>Il primo, secondo e terzo libro della chitarra spagnola</i> , [S.l.: s.n., ca. 1630] ¹⁴³		
<i>Corrente francese con le sue parte doppie</i> (p. 42)	A courante by [Ennemonde?] Gaultier (GB-Cfm Ms. Mus. 689, fol. 37r ^(a))	A faithful transcription for guitar of the original for lute
<i>Corrente francese</i> (p. 54 ^(a))	A courante by René Mesangeau (CZ-Pnm IV.G.18, fol. 70v; CLF Mesangeau no. 5)	A faithful transcription for guitar of the original for lute
<i>Seconda corrente francese</i> (p. 54 ^(b))	A courante by René Mesangeau, (CZ-Pnm IV.G.18, fol. 69v–70r; CLF Mesangeau no. 4)	A faithful transcription for guitar of the original for lute
<i>Corrente con parti variate</i> (p. 67)	An anonymous courante (CZ-Pnm IV.G.18, fol. 160v–161r)	A faithful transcription for guitar of the original for lute
Giovanni Paolo Foscari, <i>Li cinque libri della chitarra spagnola</i> (1640) ¹⁴⁴		
<i>Ciacona</i> (p. 107)	<i>Chiaccona Mariona alla vera spagnola</i> by Alessandro Piccinini (<i>Libro secondo...</i> , 1638, pp. 40–42)	A faithful transcription for guitar of the original for lute
Giovanni Battista Granata, <i>Capricci armonici sopra la chittarriglia spagnuola</i> (1646) ¹⁴⁵		
<i>Corrente / Corrente Francese per B quadro</i> (p. 4)	Anonymous courante <i>L'oranger</i> (see Kenneth Sparr, no. 27, for a list of sources)	A setting of the tune without known original lute version
[no title] / <i>Sarabande Francese per B mole</i> (p. 5 ^(a))	An anonymous sarabande (various settings listed in PAN no. 5.006)	A setting of the tune without known original lute version

¹⁴³ The complete contents of this source are reissued in *I quattro libri della chitarra spagnola*, [S.l.: s.n., ca. 1632] and *Li cinque libri della chitarra spagnola* (1640). I suspect that in fact all of Foscari's pieces exclusively in plucked style (i.e., without any strummed chord) could have lute models, but this remains to be proven.

¹⁴⁴ The pieces published in the previous editions of Foscari's works are not re-listed here.

¹⁴⁵ The second title is that of the table.

<i>Corrente / Corrente per B mole</i> (p. 8)	Anonymous courante <i>La Boivinette</i> (cf. <i>Den goden fluit-hemel</i> (Amsterdam: P. Matthysz, 1644), no. 35, p. 17)	A setting of the tune without known original lute version
<i>Corrente / Corrente per B quadro</i> (pp. 42–43)	Anonymous courante <i>La Boivinette</i> (cf. <i>Den goden fluit-hemel</i> (Amsterdam: P. Matthysz, 1644), no. 35, p. 17)	A setting of the tune without known original lute version; different from the previous one
<i>Corrente / Corrente per B quadro</i> (p. 43)	Anonymous courante <i>Courante de Monsieur</i> , or <i>La Chabotte</i> (cf. <i>Den goden fluit-hemel</i> (Amsterdam: P. Matthysz, 1644), no. 34, p. 17)	A setting of the tune without known original lute version
<i>Alemanda / Alemanda Francese</i> (p. 46)	An allemande by Germain Pinel (CLF Pinel no. 9; PAN no. 3.013) ¹⁴⁶	A free transcription for guitar of the original for lute ¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁶ This piece is found in another Italian source: I-Fn Fondo Magl. XIX 45, fol. 6r (anon., untitled, for lute in *vieil ton*).

¹⁴⁷ The concordance of A-Ila Ms. 533, fol. 7v, *Allemande Pinelle*, in spite of a few slight variants, is definitely the same version as Granata's. Both the attribution to Pinel and the better quality of the text in the manuscript suggest that Granata may have "borrowed" the piece already transcribed for guitar, instead of doing the arrangement himself from the lute version. The anonymous guitar version in PL-Kj Mus. ms. 40626, fol. 9v–10r, seems to be a different arrangement.

ABBREVIATIONS

CLF Ballard	Souris, André, Sylvie Spycket, and Monique Rollin, eds, <i>Œuvres de Robert Ballard</i> (Paris: Éditions du CNRS, 1976), 2 vols. (<i>Corpus des luthistes français</i>).
CLF Mercure	Rollin, Monique and Jean-Michel Vaccaro, eds, <i>Œuvres des Mercure</i> (Paris: Éditions du CNRS, 1977) (<i>Corpus des luthistes français</i>).
CLF Mesangeau	Souris, André and Monique Rollin, eds., <i>Œuvres de René Mesangeau</i> (Paris: Éditions du CNRS, 1971) (<i>Corpus des luthistes français</i>).
CLF P. Gaultier	Rollin, Monique, ed., <i>Œuvres de Pierre Gaultier</i> (Paris: Éditions du CNRS, 1984) (<i>Corpus des luthistes français</i>).
CLF Pinel	Rollin, Monique and Jean-Michel Vaccaro, eds., <i>Œuvres de Pinel</i> (Paris: Éditions du CNRS, 1982) (<i>Corpus des luthistes français</i>).
CLF Vallet	Souris, André and Monique Rollin, eds., <i>Œuvres de Nicolas Vallet pour luth seul</i> (Paris: Éditions du CNRS, 1989).
Goy 2006	Goy, François-Pierre, "L'air de cour et le répertoire soliste des instruments à cordes pincées au temps d'Henri IV et Louis XIII", in Georgie Durosoir, ed., <i>Poésie, musique et société: l'air de cour en France au XVII^e siècle</i> (Sprimont: P. Mardaga, 2006), 263-290.
PAN	Goy, François-Pierre and Andreas Schlegel, <i>Pièces pour luth en "accords nouveaux"</i> , free online database (http://www.accordsnouveaux.ch/de/Abhandlung/Datenbank_PAN/Datenbank_PAN.html)

The image shows a musical score for a lute piece titled 'Bataille' by Pierre Gautier. The score is presented in two systems. Each system has two staves. The first system's top staff is in treble clef and contains a single melodic line. The bottom staff is in bass clef and contains a single line of notes. The second system's top staff is also in treble clef and contains a single melodic line. The bottom staff is in bass clef and contains a more complex line with triplets and sixteenth notes. The score includes various musical notations such as clefs, time signatures, and dynamic markings like 'a' and 'f'.

Example A - Pierre Gautier, *Bataille* for lute. Reproduced with permission from *Œuvres de Pierre Gautier*, edited and transcribed by Monique Rollin, pp. 130–138. Copyright, CNRS Éditions, 1984.

15

The image displays a musical score for two systems, measures 25 through 30. Each system consists of two staves. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and bar lines. Measure numbers 25, 30, and 30 are indicated below the staves. The score is written in a historical style, likely for a lute, as indicated by the page header.

Musical score for measures 35-40. The score is written for two staves (treble and bass clef) and includes figured bass notation. Measure 35 features a treble staff with a melodic line and a bass staff with a figured bass line. Measure 36 shows a continuation of the melodic line in the treble staff and a more active bass line. Measure 37 has a treble staff with a melodic line and a bass staff with a figured bass line. Measure 38 shows a treble staff with a melodic line and a bass staff with a figured bass line. Measure 39 has a treble staff with a melodic line and a bass staff with a figured bass line. Measure 40 shows a treble staff with a melodic line and a bass staff with a figured bass line.

40

Musical score for measures 45-50. The score is written for two staves (treble and bass clef) and includes figured bass notation. Measure 45 features a treble staff with a melodic line and a bass staff with a figured bass line. Measure 46 shows a continuation of the melodic line in the treble staff and a more active bass line. Measure 47 has a treble staff with a melodic line and a bass staff with a figured bass line. Measure 48 shows a treble staff with a melodic line and a bass staff with a figured bass line. Measure 49 has a treble staff with a melodic line and a bass staff with a figured bass line. Measure 50 shows a treble staff with a melodic line and a bass staff with a figured bass line.

45

This musical score is for a lute, spanning measures 46 to 55. It is written on a grand staff with a treble clef on the upper staff and a bass clef on the lower staff. The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The score includes various musical notations such as eighth notes, quarter notes, and half notes, along with dynamic markings like *f* (forte) and *p* (piano). Measure numbers 50 and 55 are indicated. A section of the score is marked with a circled 3, indicating a triplet. There are also some bracketed notes and a final measure with a bracketed *[x]*.

46

47

48

49

50

(3)

51

52

53

54

55

60

This musical score for page 60 consists of three staves. The top staff features a series of eighth and sixteenth notes, with some notes marked with an 'x'. The middle staff contains a series of vertical lines, likely representing a lute tablature. The bottom staff shows a sequence of notes, including a half note and several quarter notes, with dynamic markings 'p' (piano) and 'f' (forte) indicating changes in volume.

65

This musical score for page 65 also consists of three staves. The top staff continues the melodic line with various note values. The middle staff again shows vertical lines for tablature. The bottom staff contains notes and rests, with dynamic markings 'p' and 'f' used throughout to guide the performer's dynamics.

This musical score is for a lute, spanning measures 70 to 80. It is written on a grand staff with a treble clef and a bass clef. The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The score is divided into two systems, each with two staves. The first system covers measures 70 and 71, and the second system covers measures 72 and 73. The notation includes various note values (quarter, eighth, and sixteenth notes), rests, and accidentals. There are also some markings that look like 'x' or 'a' on the staff lines. The page number 68 is at the top left, and the page number 80 is at the bottom right.

70

75

80

Measures 83-85 of the musical score. The score is written for two staves. The upper staff contains a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes, and the lower staff contains a bass line with similar rhythmic values. Measure 83 begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. Measure 84 features a repeat sign. Measure 85 ends with a double bar line.

83

Measures 86-90 of the musical score. The score continues with two staves. Measures 86-88 show complex rhythmic patterns with many beamed notes. Measure 89 includes a repeat sign. Measure 90 concludes the section with a double bar line.

90

Measures 92-94 of a musical score. The system consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). It contains a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes, including a triplet in measure 93. The lower staff is in bass clef and contains a bass line with whole and half notes. Measure numbers 92, 93, and 94 are indicated at the bottom of the system.

95

Measures 95-100 of a musical score. The system consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). It contains a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes, including a triplet in measure 95. The lower staff is in bass clef and contains a bass line with whole and half notes. Measure numbers 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, and 100 are indicated at the bottom of the system.

100

The image displays a musical score for three versions of Pierre Gaultier's *Bataille* (1626, 1638, 1650). The score is organized into two systems, each consisting of two staves. The left system represents the 1626 version, while the right system represents the 1638 and 1650 versions. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and accidentals, with some notes marked with an 'x'. The score is divided into two systems, each with two staves. The left system is for the 1626 version, and the right system is for the 1638 and 1650 versions. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and accidentals, with some notes marked with an 'x'. The score is divided into two systems, each with two staves. The left system is for the 1626 version, and the right system is for the 1638 and 1650 versions. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and accidentals, with some notes marked with an 'x'.

105

This musical score is for guitar, spanning measures 108 to 115. It is written on a grand staff with a treble and bass clef. The key signature has one flat (B-flat). Measure 108 features a complex melodic line in the treble with a triplet of eighth notes and a whole note in the bass. Measure 109 continues the melody with a triplet of eighth notes and a whole note. Measure 110 shows a melodic line in the treble and a whole note in the bass. Measure 111 features a melodic line in the treble and a whole note in the bass. Measure 112 shows a melodic line in the treble and a whole note in the bass. Measure 113 features a melodic line in the treble and a whole note in the bass. Measure 114 shows a melodic line in the treble and a whole note in the bass. Measure 115 features a melodic line in the treble and a whole note in the bass.

The musical score for "The Rose Tree" is presented in three systems. The first system contains the first two staves, the second system contains the next two staves, and the third system contains the final two staves. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and bar lines, with some notes marked with an asterisk (*). The score is written in a style typical of early 20th-century sheet music.

[illegible]

Measures 129-130 of a musical score. The system consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a 3/4 time signature. It contains a triplet of eighth notes in measure 129, followed by a half note in measure 130. The lower staff is in bass clef and contains a series of eighth notes in measure 129, followed by a half note in measure 130. A brace connects the two staves at the beginning of measure 129. The measure number 130 is printed below the lower staff.

Measures 131-135 of a musical score. The system consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a 3/4 time signature. It contains a series of eighth notes in measure 131, followed by a half note in measure 132, and a series of eighth notes in measure 133. The lower staff is in bass clef and contains a series of eighth notes in measure 131, followed by a half note in measure 132, and a series of eighth notes in measure 133. A brace connects the two staves at the beginning of measure 131. The measure number 135 is printed below the lower staff.

The first system of the musical score consists of two staves. The upper staff is a treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). It contains a melodic line with various note values, including minims, crotchets, and quavers, some of which are beamed together. The lower staff is a bass clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). It contains a bass line with note values and rests. The system is divided into two measures by a vertical bar line.

140

The second system of the musical score consists of two staves. The upper staff is a treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). It contains a melodic line with various note values, including minims, crotchets, and quavers, some of which are beamed together. The lower staff is a bass clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). It contains a bass line with note values and rests. The system is divided into two measures by a vertical bar line.

Measures 144 and 145 of a musical score. The system consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). It contains a melodic line with various note values, including eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests. The lower staff is in bass clef and contains a bass line with similar note values. Measure 144 ends with a double bar line. Measure 145 begins with a treble clef and a key signature change to one sharp (F#). The system is numbered 145 at the bottom right.

Measures 146 through 150 of a musical score. The system consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#). It contains a melodic line with various note values, including eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests. The lower staff is in bass clef and contains a bass line with similar note values. Measure 146 begins with a treble clef and a key signature change to one sharp (F#). The system is numbered 150 at the bottom right.

This musical score displays two systems of music, each consisting of a grand staff (treble and bass clefs) and a single staff below. The first system, labeled 155, shows a melody in the treble clef with various note values and rests, and a bass line with a similar rhythmic pattern. The second system, labeled 160, continues the melody and bass line, featuring some complex rhythmic figures and rests. The notation includes various note values, rests, and bar lines, indicating a complex rhythmic structure.

Measures 163-165 of a musical score. The score is written for three staves. The first staff (treble clef) contains a triplet of eighth notes in measure 163, followed by a half note in measure 164, and a half note in measure 165. The second staff (treble clef) contains a half note in measure 163, followed by a half note in measure 164, and a half note in measure 165. The third staff (treble clef) contains a half note in measure 163, followed by a half note in measure 164, and a half note in measure 165. The measure number 165 is centered between the staves.

Measures 166-168 of a musical score. The score is written for three staves. The first staff (treble clef) contains a half note in measure 166, followed by a half note in measure 167, and a half note in measure 168. The second staff (treble clef) contains a half note in measure 166, followed by a half note in measure 167, and a half note in measure 168. The third staff (treble clef) contains a half note in measure 166, followed by a half note in measure 167, and a half note in measure 168.

This musical score displays two measures, 169 and 170, of Pierre Gaultier's *Bataille*. The notation is arranged in two systems, each with a grand staff (treble and bass clefs) and a single staff below. Measure 169 features a complex rhythmic pattern in the upper staves, including a triplet of eighth notes in the treble and a series of beamed notes in the bass. The lower staff contains a sequence of notes with various accidentals. Measure 170 continues the pattern, with the upper staves showing a series of beamed notes and the lower staff containing a sequence of notes with various accidentals. The score is written in a historical style, with notes and accidentals clearly visible.

The image displays three systems of musical notation for a lute piece. Each system is composed of a treble staff and a lute tablature staff. The treble staff features a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a common time signature (C). The tablature staff uses letters 'a' and 'e' to represent fret positions. The first system contains 7 measures, the second system contains 8 measures, and the third system contains 14 measures. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and bar lines.

Example B - [Untitled] D-Us Mandora Tabulatur Misc. 133b, f. 94v-97r, edited and transcribed by François-Pierre Goy.

22

22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30

31

31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39

40

40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48

49

54

59

m. 50, eighth note sign placed above the preceding letter (c on 2nd course)

m. 60, half note sign placed on the preceding chord, quarter note sign omitted.

64

The musical score is presented on three staves. The top staff, in treble clef and one-sharp key signature, contains a melodic line of eighth and sixteenth notes. The middle and bottom staves, in bass clef and one-flat key signature, provide a harmonic accompaniment with similar rhythmic patterns. A large 'F' is placed at the start of the bottom staff, likely indicating a forte dynamic or a specific fingering. The score is numbered '64' at the beginning of the first measure.

*All pitches on the 4th course also sound one octave higher.

4

T.

T.

Examples C - Domenico Pellegrini, *Battaglia francese* for Baroque guitar, *Armoniosi concerti sopra la chitarra spagnuola* (Bologna: Giacomo Monti, 1650), p 24-6, edited and transcribed by François-Pierre Goy.

m. 3,9 on 5th course instead of 0.

The musical score is presented in three systems, each containing three staves. The notation includes musical notes, rests, and fingerings. Measure numbers 7, 11, and 16 are indicated at the start of their respective systems. The first system (measures 7-10) features a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The second system (measures 11-14) includes dynamic markings: *piano* and *forte*. The third system (measures 15-16) includes a *piano* marking. The notation includes various note values, rests, and fingerings. The score concludes with a repeat sign and a first ending bracket labeled [T.] in measure 16.

7

11

16

piano

forte

piano

[T.]

m. 22, grace T misplaced above the first beat.

24

Measures 24-33 of a musical score. The system consists of two staves. The upper staff contains a melodic line with various note values and rests, marked with 'T.' at measures 24, 25, 26, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, and 33. The lower staff contains a bass line with fingerings indicated by numbers 0, 2, 3, and 5. The key signature has one sharp (F#).

34

Measures 34-41 of a musical score. The system consists of two staves. The upper staff contains a melodic line with various note values and rests, marked with 'T.' at measures 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, and 41. The lower staff contains a bass line with fingerings indicated by numbers 0, 2, 3, 5, 7, and 8. The key signature has one sharp (F#).

42

Measures 42-50 of a musical score. The system consists of two staves. The upper staff contains a melodic line with various note values and rests, marked with 'T.' at measures 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, and 50. The lower staff contains a bass line with fingerings indicated by numbers 0, 2, 3, 5, and 7. The key signature has one sharp (F#).

51

60

69

75

77

81

85

m. 77, half note sign omitted.

[illegible]

m. 94, eighth note sign instead of sixteenth note sign.

On Lute Sources and Their Music—Individuality of Prints and Variability of Music

BY ANDREAS SCHLEGEL

When I was asked to contribute to the Festschrift celebrating Arthur Ness's 75th birthday, I thought about when and for what reasons our paths had crossed for the first time. In 1988 I had an assignment from Swiss national radio to produce a CD with lute music from Switzerland. I did the basic research, catalogued the then known pieces (somewhat over 1,200), delved into their concordances, and put together a program that was recorded in 1989 and released in 1990. Of course, during this time, I gave attention to the article "Sources" that Arthur Ness had published in the *New Grove*—unfortunately, only in a selection. Shortly afterwards, in 1992, I met Arthur at the congress of the Akademie Weiss in Freiburg i. Br. We have been in contact ever since, more intensely lately: He is supporting the project of an Internet-based database of all prints for lute and instruments of the lute family, which I have initiated with Joachim Lüdtke, Markus Lutz, and Joachim Domning¹

For the purpose of listing it in the catalogue, I viewed a lute book catalogued as *CH-SO DA 111*—which was discovered in the inventory of the Zentralbibliothek in Solothurn, Switzerland, by music librarian Hans-Rudolf Binz in 2003. The book leads us directly into the two batteries of questions that are about to be discussed in this article by means of multiple examples: The individuality of prints and the variability of musical pieces, or, what does a concordance tell us?

Individuality of Prints: Differences in Nicolas Vallet's Lute Books

When cataloguing, it is generally assumed that each print represents an entity. This is also the basis of RISM-cataloguing. However,

¹ The project was first presented at the "Festival der Laute" 2009 at Burg Sternberg. Thereupon, a task group began the preliminary work. In May 2010, an overview of the state of affairs was given at the "Festival der Laute" in Füssen. Also, the further development of the project was discussed with potential partners. There are clear signs of international cooperation in the future, and it is our opinion that such cooperation is a command of reason, and we are looking forward to compiling the fundamentals with the help of lute enthusiasts all over the world so that the information can be put at their disposal for personal research.

sometimes further prints that are bound together as an anthology, and are therefore not recognized as individual prints, are hidden behind the entry of the first title. Nice examples of this are the various small prints containing playing instructions: Whoever looks at one of the remaining copies of Fuhrmann's *Testudo Gallo-Germanica* of 1615, may or may not find the translation of Francisque's instructions. In the only surviving original print of Francisque (1600), these instructions were not added. However, in translated form, they are included in the Fuhrmann specimens in *PL-Kj* and *D-Mbs*, but not in the copy in *D-LEm*, which today is available in a facsimile edition.² In Vallet's work: *The Petit Discours* or *Kort Berecht* is not included in all of today's Vallet anthologies, and is to date never listed separately. However, I strongly advocate the individual listing of such small prints.³

In the case of RISM, new editions of a print are assigned individual numbers. There is, however, no provision for separate entries of books that, for any reason, appear in widely differing collations. It is this undocumented diversity that can be shown in an exemplary manner with the Vallet prints.

CH-SO DA 111 comprises four prints of Nicolas Vallet's work—*Petit Discours* [undated], *Secretum Musarum 1* 1615 [without title page], *Secretum 2* 1616, and *Een en twintich Psalmen* 1615—as well as a handwritten appendix comprising 62 pieces (63, including one fragment). I will discuss the appendix at a later point.⁴

When I had learned about the discovery of *CH-SO DA 111* in June 2009, I went to view the book, taking with me the STIMU facsimile⁵ of the Vallet prints. While examining the last page of the French table of contents to *Secretum 1*, I noticed differences between the Amerfoort facsimile and the Solothurn specimen. On closer inspection, more and more details appeared, confirming the recomposition of this table of contents. Thus, the complicated history of the Vallet prints became even

² Antoine Francisque, *Le tesor d'Orphée* (Paris: Ballard, 1600); facs. ed., Genève: Minkoff, 1973. I owe this information to Claude Chauvel, who is involved in the cataloguing project as an advisor.

³ Because these prints usually have neither a frontispiece nor a colophon, they have not been treated as independent bibliographical entities until now. This is in contrast to the so-called Kleindrucke (e.g., the "Liedflugschriften," prayer cards, or pamphlets). Possibly, these instructions are "dependent prints of small volume," the systematic cataloguing and processing of which is still outstanding. Therefore, it is not yet possible to assign them a bibliographic category.

⁴ An edition of the handwritten appendix in French tablature is available: Christoph Greuter, ed., *Solothurner Lautentabulatur DA 111, ca. 1614-1620* (Winterthur: Amadeus, 2009).

⁵ Louis Peter Grijp, ed., *The Complete Works of Nicolas Vallet: 1 Een en twintich Psalmen Davids*, 1986; *2 Regia Pietas*, 1986; *3 Secretum Musarum I*, 1992; *4 Secretum Musarum II*, 1986 (Utrecht: Stimu & Dutch Lute Society).

more complex when told in the facsimile edition, and I had to obtain as many microfilms, digitalizations, and photocopies of the prints as possible. My efforts were kindly supported by many friends of the lute: Louis Peter Grijp, Christine and Matthias Schneider, David van Ooijen, Sigrid Wirth, François-Pierre Goy, Sarge Gerbode, Jan Burgers, and Anne Burns have provided me with materials or effected the research on site in accordance with my specifications—a great experience, particularly with regard to a cataloguing project that cannot succeed without the help and cooperation of volunteers!⁶

In his exemplary prefaces to the Vallet editions, which contain much biographical material and differentiated descriptions concerning the prints, Louis Peter Grijp has established the following levels of differentiation:⁷

1. **Language:** There is a Dutch version. The only surviving copy is included in *D-W* and contains *Secretum 1*, *Kort Berecht*, *Een en twintich Psalmen* 1615, and *Secretum 2* 1616.
2. **Dating:** Here, Grijp establishes that—in some copies—the printed date of 1616 on the title page to *Secretum 2* has been altered by hand to 1618.⁸ He differentiates three versions of the early books *Secretum*

⁶ The following list of the sources I had at hand is only fragmentary. From many sources I had only a handful of single pages, so exact statements on the whole content of the book with the identification of the exact variant of the different sections without the investigation on site and without the knowledge presented in this article was not possible. A list with all sources and the exact identification of the variants of all sections of the early prints of Vallet is planned.

I list: signature, *contained books*; material I had at hand in brackets.

CH-SO DA 111: *Discours, S1, S2, 21 Ps.* (digital copy, investigation on site, including description of gathering and paper, made together with Joachim Lüdtke)

D-B Mus. Ant. Pract. V 110: *Discours, S1, S2, 21 Ps.* (separate microfilms for each book)

D-B Mus. Ant. Pract. V 120: *S2 (?)* (copies of single pages)

D-Rp AN 59, 60 & 61 (?): *Discours, S1, S2, 21 Ps.* (copies of single pages)

D-W 2.10. Musica (1-3): *Berecht, S1, S2, 21 Ps.* (separate microfilms for each book; partially in facsimile; investigation on site by Sigrid Wirth)

F-Pn: Titel *Paradisus, S1, S2*; (dias; investigation on site by François-Pierre Goy)

GB-Lbl K.4.b.13: *Discours, S1, S2, 21 Ps.* (separate microfilms for each book / scans; copies of single pages)

NL-Amersfoort: *Discours, S1, 21 Ps.* (copies of single pages; facsimile)

NL-DHgm Kluis C1: *Discours, S1, S2, 21 Ps.* (copies of single pages; partially in facsimile; investigation on site by Jan W. Burgers)

US-CA: *Discours, S1, S2, 21 Ps. (?)* (copies of single pages)

US-R: *Discours, S1, S2, 21 Ps.* (copies of single pages)

⁷ Grijp, *3 Secretum Musarum I*, 1992; here especially 3, p. XXIX.

Table

De tout ce qui est contenu en ce present Livre, ensemble
pour sçavoir quelles pieces se peuvent jouer a sept, huit, neuf &
dix rangs, & pour les sçavoir accorder.

A

Nom.

- 22 **A** Ton bras droit. A huit rangs. { Il faut accorder la huitième au c, de la
seconde.
49 Allemande Helas pourquoy a 9. { La huitième au c, de la seconde.
La neuvième r l a.
50 Suite.
59 Allemande a 7.

B.

- 45 Boerinncken a 9. — La huitième au b, de la seconde.
46 Suite.
91 Branle d'Irlande a 9.
51 Ballet a 9. — La huitième au b.
52 Ballet a 9.
53 Ballet a 9. — La huitième au b.
54 Ballet a 9. — Comme devant.
Ballet a 9.
55 Bourée d'avignon a 9. — La huitième au b.
56 Bourée a 9.
Bourée a 9.

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73 Courante

Fig. 1. Vallet's *Secretum Musarum I*: varying tables of contents.

a. CH-SO 111 (Version A)

TABLE

De tout ce qui est contenu en ce present Livre, ensemble
pour sçavoir quelles picces se peuvent jouer a sept, huißt, neuf &
dix rangs, & pour les sçavoir accorder.

A

Nom.

- 22 **A** Ton bras droit. A huit rangs. { *Il faut accorder la huitième au c. de la*
seconde.
 49 Allemande Helas pourquoy a 9. { *La huitième au c. de la seconde.*
La neuvième à l'a.
 50 Suite.
 59 Allemande a 7.

B.

- 45 Bocrinneken a 9. *La huitième au b, de la seconde.*
46 Suitte.
91 Branle d'Irlande a 9.
51 Ballet a 9. — *La huitième au b.*
52 Ballet a 9.
53 Ballet a 9. — *La huitième au b.*
54 Ballet a 9. — *Comme devant.*
Ballet a 9.
55 Bourée d'Avignon a 9. — *La huitième au b.*
56 Bourée a 9.
Bourée a 9.

b. *NL-AM* (Version B)

Table

De tout ce qui est contenu en ce présent Livre , ensemble
pour sçavoir quelles pieces se peuvent jouer a sept, huit, neuf &
dix rangs, & pour les sçavoir accorder.

A

Nom.

- 22 **A** Ton bras droit. A huit rangs. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Il faut accorder la huitième au c, de la} \\ \text{seconde.} \end{array} \right.$
49 Allemande Helas pourquoi a. 9. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{La huitième au c, de la seconde,} \\ \text{La neuvième a l'a.} \end{array} \right.$
50 Suite.
59 Allemande a 7

B

- 45 Bocrinneken a 9. — *La huitième au b. de la seconde.*
46 Suite.
91 Branle d'Irlande a 9
51 Ballet a 9. *La huitième au b.*
52 Ballet a 9.
53 Ballet a 9. — *La huitième au b.*
54 Ballet a 9. *Comme devant.*
Ballet a 9.
55 Bourée d'avignon a 9. *La huitième au b.*
56 Bourée a 9.
Bourée a 9.

c.

57 Courante

c. F-Pn (Version C)

- 1, *Secretum 2*, and *21 Psalmen*: The first version of 1615/16, the 1618 copies (altered by hand), and the edition of 1619 as a third version.
3. **Distribution:** While the prints dating from 1615/16 indicate Vallet as the reference address, the later editions—mostly published with the title *Paradisus Musicus Testudinis*—were for sale at “Jan Janssz.” and “apud Joannem Janßonium Bibliopolam,” respectively.
 4. **Dedicatees:** Grijp detects various dedicatees within the French versions of *Secretum 1*.

After discovering the recomposition of the table of contents while examining the Solothurn prints, further details stood out in comparison with other books supposedly having the same content:

1. Strangely, the Solothurn book features a mixture of languages: The title page to *Secretum 2* is kept in French and the caption of the table of contents (*Tafel*) in Dutch. The title page to *Een en twintich Psalmen* is written in Dutch, but its table of contents is in French.
2. In Vallet’s prints, two printing techniques are used: The traditional movable type printing used for printing the text pages as well as the modern and very expensive gravure printing for the music parts⁹ and, occasionally, a frontispiece. Copperplates could not be combined to a “forme”^{9a} for imprinting the whole unfolded sheet, as could be done with movable type printing. Initially, and in breach of the plate layout (which should combine to *Le Secret / Des Muses* in the header), the Solothurn print of *Secretum 1* begins with a recto page instead of a verso, so one has to leaf over in longer pieces. This means that there are “misprints” with respect to recto-verso printing (instead of verso-recto) that went into circulation all the same.
3. For the reconstruction of a potential gathering—a further level that could add a structure to the whole thing—all blank pages had to be included in the count. Thus, it became clear that some versions

⁸ Jan Burgers told me on June 18, 2010, that in the The Hague specimen as well, the dedication to *Secretum 1* had been altered by hand from 1615 to 1618. The title page to *Paradisus* is, as usual, dated 1618, and the date mark is missing in the medallion.

⁹ Vallet explains the choice of this printing technique for the possibility of avoiding printing errors. See Grijp, *Secretum musarum I* (vol. 3), document V, S. XLI. This argument must be considered in connection with the tablature prints in type printing technique: At the beginning of the prints for multi-course lutes, only Ballard had type for a correct and coherent typesetting. An exact investigation concerning printers, the type they used, and printing habits for multi-course lutes is pending. See also fn. 130 below concerning Van den Hove.

^{9a} “forme”: a body of type, etc., positioned in a chase, ready to be inked (–ed.).

have blank pages that others have not (or at least have not been put on microfilm). Consequently, on-site examination of the original is inevitable.

I wanted to find some sense, some system, behind all these variations. My first thought was that Vallet might have stored the prints as fascicles that could be combined according to customers' specifications. Thus, Vallet would have issued two sorts of printing orders: one for the movable type parts in both languages, and one for the music parts and the Latin frontispieces.

This hypothesis, combined with the partly bad condition of the Solothurn book and some obviously incorrect bindings, led to my request to restore *CH-SO DA 111*, and to thoroughly examine it in the process. After a positive answer from the library's directorate, this work was tackled on April 14, 2010.¹⁰

Based on the combined knowledge about the various versions, the following questions were posed:

1. Are there correlations between content levels and the order of layers?
2. Are the paper grades [Translator's note: the kind of paper; German *Papiersorten*] that were used applied accordingly?
3. Is there any evidence of unity of the prints and the handwritten appendix, or could the latter have originated independently?

The examination of the disassembled book yielded the following results: In the block, the paper grades alternate: A differentiation can be made between nine paper grades in which the chain-wires always run vertically. With a thickness of 11-13, 10-12, 12-17, 14-18, and 8-12 hundredths of a millimeter respectively, the papers 1, 3, 5, and 7, which were used for the copperplate engraving, are thinner than the papers 2, 4, and 6 (23-26, 18-24, 18-20), which were imprinted with movable types. With a thickness of 11-16 hundredths of a millimeter, paper 9 of the handwritten appendix is also very thin.

Thus, a correlation between the printing technique and the paper grade exists. At the top of each sheet, the papers 3, 5, 7, and 8

¹⁰ At this point, I would like to express my sincere thanks to the library's directorate for their cooperation and their consent to restore the book.

show a mostly identical grape-shaped watermark that, due to the latest bleed (probably performed during the bookbinding works in the middle of the 19th century), is not completely preserved. The similarly thick paper of the handwritten appendix does not show any watermark. The measurement of the screens is still pending, however; papers 1, 3, 5, 7, and 8 seem to be very similar, if not identical. This also applies to papers 2, 4, and 6. As the case may be, we can differentiate between three paper grades: Paper A for the gravure prints, paper B for the movable type prints, and paper C for the handwritten appendix.

CH-SO DA 111 has some distinct features in its compilation. Figure 1 gives an overview. The languages in the contents are indicated as “F” for French and “NL” for Dutch. The printing techniques are specified as “C” for copperplate engraving, and “T” for movable type. Some of the layers are damaged.¹¹ (See Fig. 1.)

Due to the concordance between the partially reconstructed gathering structure and the one that was actually found, the falsely bound content portions can be reasonably assembled. Hence, it can be assumed that the layers were printed as entities, and that for his works, Vallet—from 1618 the bookseller Jansszon—kept batches of frontispieces in Latin (suitable for both languages), dedications in French and Dutch, musical contents, and, in addition to that, tables of contents in both languages respectively, and gave them out according to customer demand, possibly supplemented by playing instructions. *D-B V 110*, wherein the table of contents to *Secretum 1* appears twice, is an indication of this. At a certain point in time, Vallet and Jansszon would thus have assembled printed parts according to customer demand or availability. (To this day, I know of only one copy of the French table of contents; instead, the Dutch version was included.) This would explain the differing compilations of the remaining copies, and would make consistent cataloguing impossible.

However, even this interpretation proves to be too simple.

In the Wolfenbüttel specimen of *Een en twintich Psalmen*, the title type print was directly printed onto the recto pages of the first

¹¹ Unio f. 1-2, separated; Binio 41-44 completely separated; Binions 49-52, and 57-60, respectively, outer sheets separated; Unio 61-62, glued to a fold-over edge; f. 63 shows a crease; Binio 76-79, outer sheet separated; f. 91, glued to a fold-over edge; 92-94, individual sheets,—presumably Binio 88/94 + 92/93; Binions 95-98, 99-102, 103-106, 107-110, possibly 111-114, respectively, outer sheets separated; Binio 115-115a, separated; Binio 126/130 + 127/129, 128 = double sheet, laterally bound between 127 and 128, folded; Quaternio 139-145: 139/145 + 140/144 complete, sheet lost (with small crease)/143, 141/142 complete.

f.	f.act. ^{11a}	Content	Layer	Paper	Print
1-2	1-2	Petit Discours	Unio separated	1	C
3-6	3-6	<i>Secret 1</i> F with dedication	Binio	2	T
7-10	55-58	<i>Secret 1</i> table of contents	Binio	2	T
11-12	115-116	<i>21 Psalmen</i> F table of contents	Unio	2	T
13-60	7-54	<i>Secret 1</i> musical content A1-M6, blank, A1 = r (r-v)	Binions	3	C
61-62	59-60	<i>Secret 2</i> F title and dedication	Unio	4	T
63	87	<i>Secret 2</i> NL table of contents	Single sheet with crease	4	T
64-87	61-84	<i>Secret 2</i> musical content A1-F8, A1 = r	Binions	5	C
88	89	<i>21 Psalmen</i> musical content A1 = v	Single sheet	7	C
89-90	85-86	<i>Secret 2</i> musical content G1-G2, blank	Unio	5	C
91	88	<i>21 Psalmen</i> NL title	Single sheet	6	T
92-114	90-112	<i>21 Psalmen</i> musical content A2-F8	Presumably Binions	7	C
115-115a	113-114	<i>21 Psalmen</i> musical content G1-G2	Unio	8	C
116-161	117-162	<i>Handwritten appendix, separately foliated in edition Greuter with 1-46</i>	Quaternions, except Binio 126-130 with insert 128	9	-

Figure 1 - Overview of Nicholas Vallet's print CH-SO DA 111

^{11a} This is the actual order and foliation after the restoration, communicated by Hans-Rudolf Binz on January 13, 2011.

musical content sheet, whereas in *CH-SO DA 111*, the title page is printed as a single sheet, and the first sheet of the musical contents is blank on the recto side. Thus, the differentiation between laying and printing technique becomes irrelevant here.

Upon further comparison of the copies and films that were available to me, I had to abandon the hypothesis of fixed layers being identical in prints of the same date, owing to the discovery of the following:

1. The layer with the dedications of the French edition of *Secretum 1* shows pages, which are identical in versions 1 (1615) and 3 (1618), but also pages that have been altered:¹²

f. 1r	Dedication and date mark	altered
f. 1v	Privileg	altered
f. 2r-v	Epistre	unaltered
f. 3r	Sonnet à Messieurs	unaltered
f. 3v	Epigram	unaltered
f. 4r	Sonnet à l'Autheur	altered
f. 4v	l'Autheur à son livre	unaltered

The inner sheet f. 2/3 was therefore not touched, unlike the outer sheet f. 1/4. One would understand a complete recomposition of f. 1 r+v and f. 4 r+v—Vallet or Jansszon would have simply replaced the outer sheet. However, the print on f. 4v is absolutely identical in the editions of 1615 and 1618!

2. The French table of contents of *Secretum 1* exists in three different versions:¹³

	<i>Alphabetical</i>	<i>Version A</i>	<i>Version B</i>	<i>Version C</i>
f. 1r	A-B	<i>CH-SO, D-B 110</i>	<i>NL-AM, GB-Lbl</i>	<i>F-Pn</i>
f. 1v	C-F	<i>CH-SO, D-B 110, F-Pn</i>	<i>NL-AM, GB-Lbl</i>	
f. 2r	F (cont.)-G	<i>CH-SO, D-B 110, F-Pn</i>	<i>NL-AM, GB-Lbl</i>	
f. 2v	G (cont.)-M	<i>CH-SO, D-B 110</i>	<i>NL-AM, GB-Lbl</i>	<i>F-Pn</i>
f. 3r	P	<i>CH-SO, D-B 110</i>	<i>NL-AM, GB-Lbl</i>	<i>F-Pn</i>
f. 3v	P (cont.)-V	<i>CH-SO, D-B 110, F-Pn</i>	<i>NL-AM, GB-Lbl</i>	
f. 4r	blank			
f. 4v	blank			

¹² Version 2 (1615) with the date altered to 1618 exists—as far as known today—only in the The Hague specimen.

¹³ The almost accidental discovery of the table's recomposition led me to examine the variations in the first place. For evaluation, the following specimens were at my disposal: *CH-SO, D-B V 110* (2 copies), *F-Pn*, *GB-Lbl*, and *NL-Amersfoort*. Unfortunately, Jan Burgers was unable to examine the Amersfoort specimen on site because the book was currently unavailable for viewing due to relocation.

Therefore, both the inner and outer sheets of the Paris edition are affected by the recomposition; and here, as well, we find identical pages, however only with the 1615 edition in *CH-SO* and *D-B* as well as in the not firmly dateable book in *F-Pn* (see below). The table of contents from the 1618 edition in *GB-Lbl* and *NL-Amersfoort* is a complete recomposition.

3. The Dutch table of contents to *Secretum 2* is—at least in *CH-SO*—a single page print, the edge of which has been folded up to make a small crease for binding. Out of the copies available to me—*CH-SO*, *D-W* (both 1616), *F-Pn*, and *GB-Lbl* (both 1619)—*GB-Lbl* shows slight variations compared to the other copies: On the one hand, there is a different “A”-type; on the other, the periods are offset in a number of places. Otherwise, the typesetting is identical.

4. The only known French table of contents to *Secretum 2* (*D-B V 110*) is absolutely identical to *CH-SO*, *D-W*, and *F-Pn*, with the exception of the title, which says “Table” instead of “Tafel.”

5. The *Unio* containing the title page to the French edition of *Secretum 2*, as well as the dedication on f. 2r-v, was completely recomposed in 1619 (*D-B V 120*, *D-Rp*, *F-Pn*, *GB-Lbl*). However, there is the slightest possible difference between *CH-SO* and *D-B V 110* (print of 1616): *CH-SO* shows a period at the end of the first line of f. 2v, which is missing in *D-B*.

So, there are differences in the typesetting even with prints dating from the same year. On the other hand, printing plates containing typesetting identical to the ones used in 1615/1616 have obviously been used in 1618/1619 as well. In addition to that, changes in the typesetting have been made. Do these facts indicate that Vallet and Jansszon did at any time have at their disposal not only the copper plates, but also the formes, probably each containing four pages of movable type and, possibly, some individual type as well? Did they make changes, and have new copies made as needed? This would be “print on demand” in the modern sense! That would make consistent cataloguing completely pointless.

After the delivery and individual binding of a print, users or (later on) librarians or bookbinders would have added further alterations. David van Ooijen and Jan Burgers pointed out to me, that, on f. 38r (p. 57) of the The Hague copy of *Secretum 1*, the initial P (for “Pavane”) was

overpasted with the initial “A”. The initials “C” on f. 94v and “A” on f. 106r (21 *Psalmen*, pp. 3 and 26) were cut out. However, the glued-on “A” from f. 38r is not the cut-out “A” from f. 106r!

Handwritten additions on pages 34 and 83 were made by two different writers. They offer a surprise to be discussed below. The Paris book has a title page (*Paradisus*) that was entered into the library of the conservatoire as a single sheet in 1897 (entry number 27904) and was (presumably at a later time) bound into the book block, which was entered into the same library as early as 1883 (entry number 23469).¹⁴

Consequently, the only possibility for uncomplicated cataloguing of Vallet’s prints presents itself when only one single specimen survives: The Dutch version of *Secretum 1* (D-W). All other copies are treacherous when it comes to classification, and there is a high probability that further Dutch copies, which have yet to be discovered, will show variations similar to the ones found in the French versions. Due to incomplete source material, it is too early for me to give an exhaustive account, the exception being the source *CH-SO DA 111*, which was scrutinized meticulously. One may hope that a complete listing will be possible in the near future so that the foundation can be laid for the comparison of entire books, especially their collation.

The copper-engraved musical content still awaits processing as well. There may be surprises waiting, especially because at least two different hands appear in *Secretum 1*. For example, comparing p. 9 (B1) to p. 93 (M5), one notices that the typeface is different: The loop in the letter “f” is wider or narrower, the upstroke in “b” open or closed, and the “c” upright or tilted to the right. Is this the same engraver? We find a completely divergent style on pp. 15–18 (B7–C2), showing straight stems on the “b” and “d.” Were there corrections made on the copperplates as well, or were entire plates exchanged?

Let us summarize the facts that have been established:¹⁵ The surviving books that contain one or more Vallet prints—playing instructions, *Secretum 1*, *Secretum 2*, *Een en twintich Psalmen*—must be regarded as sales units. Every sales unit consists of several content layers—frontispiece, dedication, musical content, and table of contents—that

¹⁴ Memorandum by François-Pierre Goy, April 16, 2010. According to the work on place by Goy, *Secretum 1* contains only the title page (which does not belong to the book block), *Petit discours*, the music (r-v instead of v-r!), and the table of contents, but not the layer containing the dedications, poems, etc. This present-day condition with the “misprint” r-v suggests that we are looking at the print run of 1615, of which the title page and the dedications have simply been lost. Here, at best, examinations of the paper and the watermarks could provide for indications to a specific print run.

¹⁵ These results are weakened by the fact that—up to now—not all surviving Vallet books could be examined using a standardized procedure.

have probably been assembled according to customer specifications. In turn, the individual content layers can differ from one another:

Apart from the description field, the frontispieces are identical. In the case of *Paradisus*, the datemark "1615" is missing in Vallet's medallion, whereas the print is dated "1618" in the description field.

The prefaces, dedications, and tables of content may be "original" prints, complete reprints, or partial reprints using pages of the "original" print but not in any case whole sheets, double sheets, or even whole layers. Every sales unit and every print run may or may not contain all elements appearing in surviving copies connected to the musical content.

What consequences do the findings from the "Vallet case" have for cataloguing projects like the one previously discussed?

1. Books should be listed according to two aspects: as a whole, even when there are several content layers present, but also as individual content layers. A catalogue entry of an individual part must show the entire book, and the book's main entry must allow for the reconstruction of the individual parts.
2. Every content layer—even if it consists only of one Unio—must be individually listed.
3. We must document all surviving copies of a print in order to recognize different editions, existing or missing content layers, amendments within a single print run,¹⁶ handwritten additions, etc. Facsimiles must imperatively name the underlying sources, and preferably should not be graphically processed.

As a consequence, the cataloguing project should furnish a database containing three different levels:

1. **Evidence of printing:** Here, all prints up to 1825 that are related to instruments of the lute family should be listed with an indication of their respective depositories as well as proof of cataloguing (RISM, etc.).

¹⁶ See the examples for discrepancies between the Zofingen and Berne copies of Newsletters *Neugeordent Lautenbuch* of 1536, as Joachim Lüdtke describes them in an upcoming article in this *Journal* planned for Vol 44.

2. **Content database:** Here, the individual pieces in the prints should be listed according to the method of Howard Mayer Brown, which has proven to be very reliable. Also, there should be information specific to instruments repertoire (see the second part of this paper), and proof of cataloguing (e.g., PAN-catalogue and Tuning databases).¹⁷
3. **Database of surviving copies:** Information about the origins, handwritten additions, condition, etc., of the listed books should be filed.

Standardized examination procedures for sources are the basis for interpretations like the ones I present by means of Valler's prints. For the cataloguing projects at hand, there is a need to develop and introduce examination procedures, which, on the one hand, take into consideration as many of the possible interests in the sources as possible, and provide the fundamentals for interpretations. On the other hand, they have to remain practicable for all future collaborators, and must not expose the originals to any danger.

Variability of Music: What Does a Concordance Tell Us?

The handwritten appendix to *CH-SO DA 111* was edited by Christoph Greuter.¹⁸ In his edition, he lists a total of 33 "most important" concordances for 16 pieces.¹⁹ Nos. 6, 7, 8/9, 10, 41/45/46, and 61, which Greuter views as concordances to Lord Herbert of Cherbury's lute book, led him to two conclusions: First, he discusses the possibility of a personal encounter between writer 1 and Lord Herbert; second, according to Greuter, "A number of pieces by one 'Gautier,' which had been only known from Lord Herbert's lute book, are contained in the Solothurn manuscript. This 'Gautier' is most likely identical with Jacques Gautier (c. 1595–d. after 1652), also referred to as the 'English Gautier'." As an argument, Greuter cites the title "L'Adieu de Gaultier," a courante (DA 111 = no.10) that, in Greuter's opinion, could refer to the farewell of Jacques Gaultier from his native country after he had killed a young

¹⁷ The PAN (Pièces en accords nouveaux) and Tuning databases can be viewed on www.accords-nouveaux.ch/de/Abhandlung/Datenbank_PAN/Datenbank_PAN.html (as yet only in the German version).

¹⁸ Greuter, The following citations are taken from the English translation included in the book.

¹⁹ Editorial technique, p. 67: "Concordances have not yet been taken account of completely, only the most important concordances are referred to."

nobleman in France in a duel in 1617 and had to flee to England to evade murder charges.²⁰

After a first look into standard editions of contemporaneous sources or even books listed in Greuter's edition, only variation 9 remains as "hitherto regarded as a unique copy."²¹ In the meantime, I have at my disposal the list of concordances compiled by John Robinson, which shows 211 concordances for 18 pieces and refutes three concordances listed by Greuter, among which is a concordance to *Lord Herbert* (no. 8/9).²² We have been able to identify four more pieces with German titles (37, 44, 49, and 56), so that there is the possibility of comparing a total of 22 pieces.²³

The far-reaching conclusions, which Greuter deduces from the concordances he declares and classifies as "most important," will have to be put into perspective and, for the larger part, refuted. However, if Greuter speaks of "most important" concordances, this raises the question of classification and appraisal of concordances.

This subject has been in my mind since the beginning of my activity as a lutenist, and this edition of *CH-SO DA 111* triggered my desire to present some of the experiences of the last 25 years of intensive

²⁰ Greuter, German pp. 4a&cb, English pp. 8a&cb

²¹ Sources that can easily be consulted are, e.g.:

CLF Robert Ballard 1611 & 1614.

CLF Vaumesnil, Edinthon, Perrichon. Raël, Montbuysson, La Grotte, Saman, La Barre. Pascale Boquet and François-Pierre Goy, eds., Robert Ballard. *Premier livre de tablature de luth*, 1611 (Courlay: Fuzeau, 1995) (see above).

Tim Crawford and François-Pierre Goy, eds., *The St. Petersburg "Swan Manuscript"* (Columbus, Oh.: Orphée, 1994).

Ralf Jarchow, ed., *Ernst Schele. Tabulatur Buch (D-Hs ND VI 3238)* (Glinde: Jarchow, 2004).

²² Concordances to nos. 8, 9, 50, 57.

²³ In the edition, the German titles are, for some reason, included neither in the table of contents nor in the title headers, but only in the "Kritischer Bericht." The same is true of some of the French titles. For that reason, all German titles, missing indications, and divergent versions are listed here:

No. 4 *Courante de Gautier sans chanterelle*

No. 14 *Boutate. Ballardj.* (not *Bontante Ballard j.*: see below p. 123-6)

No. 25 *A. f. fabri*

No. 28 *Stabat mater*

No. 33 *Alls zu gleich wie d[a]ß [etc.]*

No. 37 *Die un menschliche Ewigkeit / Wie unmenschliche Ewigkeit* (interpretation still unclear)

No. 41 *En revenant de St. Nicolas* at the end: "AD: Jacobo Murer"

f. 35v No. [43a] *Pauana Alloysons* [aborted] (Th is entry is completely suppressed.)

No. 43 *Pauana Alloysons le 21. dy May 21* (For dating, see below p. 123)

No. 44 *Also gehets, Also stehets. Hie Vff dieser Erden*

No. 49 *Gethreüwes hertz in Ehren*

No. 56 *Der Liebste mein will mich v[e]rstoßen, Nun er mich zu fahl hatt bracht*

No. 57-60 are notated and numbered as belonging together, no. 57 having no title, no.

58 "2," no. 59 "3," and no. 60 "4."

work with concordances and questions related to the cataloguing of lute music. I will do this by means of four stations.

There is a guiding theme that should be kept in mind when reading the following examples. Though, of course, it was and remains necessary, and though, only in doing so, we have been able to acquire today's knowledge over the past decades, we have to free ourselves from merely inventorying the sources. It is now time to start identifying the pieces, the master copies, the hands, the instruments that were used, and the places where the entries were written into the sources. In order to do so, it is necessary to establish a differentiated catalogue and a system of classification that will enable us to collect and display the painstakingly gathered knowledge about concordances in a sensible way.

Station 1: French Lute Music in the "nouvel accord ordinaire" (NAO)

In the context of my research into the *Rhétorique des Dieux*, I have since 1987 tried to address the question of classification of concordances for French baroque lute music in the "nouvel accord ordinaire" (NAO) with an approach of distinguishing between the *transmissional spectrum* and the *formulational latitude*. The basis of this perception was my habit of playing and comparing all concordances of a particular piece that were available to me. In doing so, I realized that in French lute music of the 17th century—from ca. 1640 to 1710 to be exact—hardly one version corresponded exactly with another one with the exception of true transcriptions, which, however, are comparatively rare. Yet, despite this multitude of versions, there is an astounding congruence—if you leave aside the rhythmic shifts in chord treatment, the inconsistent notation of the eighths, as well as the ornamentation²⁴—if you synchronize the chord

²⁴ The *formulational latitude* concerns three elements:

1. The rhythmic notation of chords:

There are four possible ways of writing chords:

- as vertically aligned chord members without "séparés"
- as vertically aligned chord members with "séparés"
- as a broken or arpeggiated chord
- at 3 or more-voice chord: 2- or more-voice chord with a late-striking last tone.

2. The notation of eighth notes: One notator will write dotted rhythms in the "inégalité" style, another in equal eighths.

3. The notation of the ornaments. One often finds an immediate relationship between the setting of an ornament symbol and the rhythmic interpretation of a chord: In conjunction with chords notated as broken, ornament symbols do not appear as often as they do with chords notated as being simultaneously attacked, the breaking of the chord being likewise considered to be a kind of ornament filling out a period of relaxation.

notes and thus work your way through to the “basic structure” of the music—a job that I like to call the “reduction procedure.”²⁵ Ultimately, every note of the basic structure is supposed to take on a specific function:

- Regulation of rhythmic density
- Harmonic transition
- Being part of a *soggetto* or of the melodic gesture
- Emphasizing the melodic gesture

If the basic structure thus gained is identical or shows only marginal discrepancies, e.g. added-tone chords or different left hand chord positions, I referred to it as “designed within the *formulational latitude*.” Thus, I concede to every player the right to independently formulate the basic structure to his or her taste. In later music, this individual formulation remains in demand only rarely, and then only with ornamented repetitions, e.g., with Weiss, which is why, in those cases, the concept of a “work,” which functions with the idea of an “Urtext,” can often be applied.

Differing variants include pieces, which in parts are outside the *formulational latitude*, but still contain portions that recognizably show the same substance as the basic structure.²⁶

Using this type of classification of concordances, I was able to demonstrate that the *Rhétoriques* notator A as well as its notator B are outside the *formulational latitude* in some pieces. For that reason, I have maintained the view that neither notator A nor notator B was directly linked to Denis Gaultier, which led to the following conclusion: “Thus there is a shift in the significance of *Rhétorique des Dieux* concerning the

²⁵ Examples of the work with the “*formulational latitude*,” the “reduction procedure,” and function assignment can be found in Andreas Schlegel, “Was ich dank der *Rhétorique des Dieux* bisher lernen konnte,” *Die Laute* 1(1997): 57-65.

²⁶ This is one of the essential points I have made in my essays on the *Rhétorique des Dieux*. The second point concerns the history of origins: Obviously, the creative process was interrupted at some point, and the *Rhétorique* was not completed according to the plan. Third, the current state of research allows for several theories on the history of origins, which are mutually exclusive. A very literal English translation of my essays, dating from 1989, is available on: www.accordsnouveaux.ch/de/DownloadD/files/Rhetorique_Englisch.pdf. German original: Andreas Schlegel, “Bemerkungen zur ‘*Rhétorique des Dieux*’ Erster Teil: Zur Entstehungsgeschichte,” *Gitarre & Laute* (2/1989): 17-23; “Zweiter Teil: Die Tabulatureinträge vor dem stilistischen Hintergrund der französischen Lautenmusik des 17. Jahrhunderts,” *Gitarre & Laute* (3/1989): 17-23; “Dritter Teil: Die Tabulatureinträgen in der ‘*Rhétorique*,’” *Gitarre & Laute* (4/1989): 27-32. My most recent article on the *Rhétorique* is “Was ich dank der *Rhétorique des Dieux* bisher lernen konnte,” *Die Laute (Jahrbuch der Deutschen Lautengesellschaft)* 1 (1997): 45-83.

tradition of Denis Gaultier's work: It is now a unique and important witness for the history of this lutenist's reception, however, it is no longer a primary source with special authorized versions."²⁷

Whether the hypothesis of notator B not being directly linked to Denis Gaultier can be upheld even after 20 years will be discussed within the edition of the complete works in the hand of notator B, which I am preparing along with François-Pierre Goy.²⁸ The special feature of this edition is that we find one person making entries into several sources. We thus gain insight into this writer's personal *formulational latitude*. For a first impression of this work, see the online facsimile of *B-Bc FA VI 10*, pp. 106-13.

Station 2: Music in "accords nouveaux"

Let us now address the previous layer in the development of French lute music: the music in "accords nouveaux." Goy treated this field extensively in 1988-89. Since his work was not printed, and therefore was known only to a handful of insiders, too little notice of it was taken for a long time. That is why I have often tried to persuade him to publish his work. Eventually, in 2008, Goy and I created the website www.accordsnouveaux.ch, where Goy's work, the PAN-database containing all known pieces written in accords nouveaux (PAN = Pièces en Accords Nouveaux²⁹), the Tunings-database, and further basic material can be viewed and downloaded.

The PAN-catalogue is a remodeling of Goy's original catalogue for the purpose of opening the catalogue (which is, in principle, a closed entity) to future discoveries. Its core is the PAN-number, which is used for identification of a piece. The number before the decimal point indicates the genre:

²⁷ Schlegel, "Bemerkungen zur 'R'hétorique des Dieux' Dritter Teil . . .," *Gitarre & Laute* (4/1989): 31, column c.

²⁸ For information concerning this edition, see: *Lauten-Info* (4/2009): 6-7. The online-facsimile of *B-Bc FA VI 10*, which contains entries by notator B, is downloadable from: www.accordsnouveaux.ch/DownloadD/files/B-Bc_FA_VI_10.pdf. The facsimile contains an introduction by François-Pierre Goy and myself. Also, there is a list of concordances by Goy. The commentary is written in French, Dutch, and German.

²⁹ To be viewed at www.accordsnouveaux.ch/de/Abhandlung/Datenbank_PAN/Datenbank_PAN.html (currently only in German—the English version is in process).

Genre 1:	Opening pieces (Prélude, Fantasia, Entrée, Recherche, Exercitio, Point d'Orgue, Sinfonie fugue, Interlude)
Genre 2:	Pavane
Genre 3:	Allemande, Tombeau
Genre 4:	Courante
Genre 5:	Sarabande
Genre 6:	Canarie
Genre 7:	Chaconne, Ciaconna
Genre 8:	Volte
Genre 9:	Gigue, Tattle de Moy
Genre 10:	Gaillarde
Genre 11:	Branle, Gavotte
Genre 12:	Ballet, Bataille
Genre 13:	Songs, Chansons, and pieces based on models
Genre 14:	Examples
Genre 15:	Miscellaneous

The number after the decimal point is a three-digit item count, wherein the same piece (concordance) is accorded the same number. Differing versions of the same piece are provided with consecutive capitals.

Where was the line drawn previously, over 20 years ago?

Goy writes: "The different versions of a piece (timbre) are treated as one, because—in general—only the melody corresponds. If a specific version shows exact concordances, these are then summarized in a subcategory."³⁰

Concordances in the repertoire of the accords nouveaux are more often outside of the *formulational latitude* than later compositions in NAO (nouvel accord ordinaire). The need arises for a classification that goes further than the differentiation between "inside and outside the *formulational latitude*." Therefore, let us now look at some concrete examples of concordance classifications in the field of the accords nouveaux:

Related or Not?—CH-BEa HA Spiez 123³¹ and US-Cn 7.Q.5

An interesting example of a possible relationship between two sources can be found in two of the earliest manuscripts containing accords

³⁰ François-Pierre Goy, *Les sources manuscrites de la musique pour luth sur les "Accords nouveaux" (vers 1624—vers 1710): Catalogue commenté* (Paris, 1988-89), edition augmentée PDF 2008, p. Conc: 1. The paper can be downloaded from www.accordsnouveaux.ch/de/Abhandlung/Abhandlung.html

³¹ An "Eidgenössisches Staatsarchiv," as mentioned by Boetticher in *RISM B VII*, does not exist. Due to several inquiries with an incorrect signature, the administration of the Staatsarchiv des Kantons Bern kindly asks to take note that the signature of the lute book must include "HA Spiez 123." Wolfgang Boetticher, *Handschriftlich überlieferte Lauten- und Gitarrentabulaturen des 15. bis 18. Jahrhunderts. Beschreibender Katalog* (RISM B VII) (München, 1978).

nouveaux: *CH-BEa HA Spiez 123* and *US-Cn 7.Q.5*. A commented “facsimile” of the Bernese handwriting complete with a commentary, a list of concordances, and (on pp. 23-28) a parallel reading of concordances with *US-Cn* is available for download.³²

CH-BEa HA Spiez 123 probably originates in Paris around 1625³³ and is stored in the archive of the von Erlach family, who mustered a regiment in the Gardes Suisses stationed in Paris at the time. It comprises 25 pieces for ten-course lute:

3 in edeff / cdfh³⁴
 7 in efdeh / bdfi
 6 in fdeff / cdfh
 9 in fedff / cdfh

The tuning efdeh does not belong with the accords nouveaux because it doesn't emanate from fourths between the 6th and 5th as well as the 5th and 4th courses, respectively.³⁵ It is represented by seven pieces (nos. 18-24), which makes *CH-BEa HA Spiez 123* the main source for this particular tuning. Twelve pieces in *CH-BEa HA Spiez 123* are unique copies (nos. 1, 6, 12, 13, 14, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24).

US-Cn 7.Q.5 is dated 1624 and contains (along with a few pieces in the vieil ton) 232 pieces in accords nouveaux:

11 in ccfhf / cdfh
 26 in edeff / cdfh
 27 in edfef / dfhl
 55 in fdeff / cdfh
 113 in fedff / cegh

In the sources *CH-BEa* and in *US-Cn*, nine pieces in the same accords can be found: *CH-BEa* no. 2 (in *US-Cn* with an additional contrepattie), 3, 4, and 25 in fdeff / cdfh; 7, 8, 9, 11, and 15 in fedff / cegh. Thus, of the 18 pieces in accords nouveaux contained in the Bernese

³² www.accordsnouveaux.ch/de/DownloadD/files/CH-BEa_123.pdf. Pieces nos. 3, 4, and 11 of *CH-BEa* on pp. 29-30 are reproduced without corrections.

³³ See p 113 below for comments on the divergent dating by Greuter, piece no. 7: *Courante Messangeau*, PAN 4.042.

³⁴ The tunings are indicated in a system adapted to lute according to Frank Traficante. The letters relate to the French tablature as it was used for lute, baroque guitar, mandore, lyra, viol, etc. The first letters indicate the intervals of the principal strings from high to low. The letters after the slash indicate the tuning of the bass courses in relation to the 6th course, e.g., cdfh means a major second, a minor third, a fourth and a fifth below the 6th course.

³⁵ Further information can be taken from the Tunings database. See www.accordsnouveaux.ch/de/Abhandlung/Accords/Accords.html.

source, 50% are “concordant” with *US-Cn*. This is an extraordinary relationship in repertoire, which forces us to investigate further: Could both manuscripts originate from the same environment, or possibly even from the same writer?

First, regarding the provenance of *US-Cn* 7.Q.5: Marie-Louise Rosenthal donated it to the Newberry Library in 1967. In 1966, the Antiquariat Otto Haas (Albi Rosenthal, proprietor) had purchased it from the estate of Alfred Cortot. Cortot had died in Lausanne on Lake Geneva in 1962. It was Cortot who added the notation “£ 150 Exp. Francfort 1927 No 390.”³⁶ In the *Katalog der internationalen Ausstellung “Musik im Leben der Völker,”* Frankfurt am Main 11. Juni–28. August 1927 (Frankfurt am Main: Werner & Winter, 1927), edited by Kathi Meyer, the handwriting is listed on p. 168 as no. 390 as “*Livre de Tablature française de luth.—Manuscrit (c. 1600) (Coll. Alfred Cortot)*.”³⁷ Therefore, the manuscript must have been in Cortot’s possession as early as 1927. But where did it come from?

The relationship to *CH-BEa HA Spiez 123* led to enquiries about the von Erlach family and their former property, Spiez castle, which sits in a picturesque location on the shores of Lake Thun, Switzerland. In Spiez castle, the von Erlach family had a very significant library. Boetticher mentions the following story: “In spring 1798, Spiez castle was ransacked (by orders of the French minister Mengand [meaning Joseph Mengaut, a French representative from Belfort, AS], who, in doing this, hoped to gain access to the archive of the Secret Council). The rest, ‘packed into 6 sacks of a Mütt each,’ was handed over to the municipality of Berne who, again, handed it back to Gabriel Albrecht v. Erlach who had been led to Strassburg as a hostage (see: Akten des Kantons Oberland, IV, Finanzen, Nr. 1, Brief des G. A. v. Erlach vom 16.12.1798.).”³⁸ The extent of the losses the library suffered during the French occupation and the following Helvetic Republic is not known.

In the course of Swiss politics in the 1860s and 1870s, which tried to diminish the influence of long-established nobility through heavy

³⁶ Personal message from Alison Hinderliter, music librarian *US-Cn*, dated November 25, 2009.

³⁷ Personal message from François-Pierre Goy, dated November 26, 2009.

³⁸ “Schloss Spiez wurde Frühjahr 1798 geplündert (Anordnung des Ministers Mengand, der hoffte, damit das Archiv des Geheimen Rats zu erfassen). Der Rest, in “6 müttige Säcke verpackt,” wurde der Munizipalität Bern übergeben. Diese gab den Teil wieder an Gabriel Albrecht v. Erlach zurück, der als Geisel nach Straßburg geführt worden war. (Vgl. Akten des Kantons Oberland, IV, Finanzen, Nr. 1, Brief des G. A. v. Erlach vom 16.12.1798.).” Boetticher, p. 45. The captivity is described by Gabriel Albrecht von Erlach himself. See Hans Ulrich von Erlach, *800 Jahre Berner von Erlach. Die Geschichte einer Familie* (Bern, 1989), 529-38.

taxes requiring a high liquidity, the von Erlach family had to sell Spiez castle and its inventory.³⁹ In 1875/76, two auctions were held, in which, among others, this library was dissolved. Unfortunately, the remaining catalogues and sales documents are not very precise. Because of this, I have not been able to find an entry pointing to the identification of either *CH-BEa HA Spiez 123* or *US-Cn 7.Q.5*. Because Cortot's card catalogue remains untraceable to this day, the question of whether both manuscripts come from the von Erlach family library is left unanswered. Also, the question of why *CH-BEa HA Spiez 123* remained in the family's possession cannot be definitely answered. The family assumes that the manuscript could most likely be connected to Franz Ludwig von Erlach (1575-1651). There is an extended biography,⁴⁰ in which we find that he took spinet lessons in Padua in 1592. Unfortunately, we do not learn anything about further musical activities. There were other members of the family who had connections to Paris as well, and who were, e.g., working as intermediaries at the royal court.⁴¹

Based on the differing ways of notating the rhythmic symbols and on the very different shapes of the letters, we can at first sight negate the question of whether both sources were written by the same hand.

The concordances of pieces 2, 7, 8, 9, 15, and 25, published in parallel reading on pp. 23-28 of the facsimile, show a tradition within the *formulational latitude* as it applies also to "classical" French lute music of the 17th century. Here, only missing portions (e.g. in the *Canarie*, piece 9, or in the *Sarabande*, piece 15) have to be noted separately. One approach to this problem may be seen in the list of concordances.

It turns out that number 7, a *Courante* by Mesangeau (PAN 4.042), is a piece that, in Ballard's print of 1638, p. 9, was reprinted in the alternate tuning of *dedff*. In the booklet to his CD *Marion pleure*, Christoph Greuter claims that by reason of this concordance *CH-BEa HA Spiez 123* must be dated to a time later than 1638.⁴² Needless to say this has to be rejected by reason of very general considerations: If a print of a particular piece exists, this does not automatically mean that it was published right after the piece's composition. The piece could have been circulating for years before being printed at a considerably later time.

³⁹ Alfred Stettler, *Schloss Spiez. Die wechselvolle Geschichte von 1850 bis 1930* (Spiez: Verlag Stettler AG Spiez, 2003), 17-19.

⁴⁰ von Erlach, *op.cit.*, pp. 170-231; spinet lessons p. 178.

⁴¹ E.g., Hans Rudolf von Erlach (1577-1628), special ambassador of Berne in Paris from 1614 to 1617, see von Erlach, *op.cit.*, pp. 232-44.

⁴² Liner notes to Greuter's CD *Marion pleure* (Chronophon 0906).

This especially applies to anthologies, as are Ballard's prints in accords nouveaux. In his standard work on the Ballard printing house, Laurent Guillo points out that presumably a collection was issued each year.⁴³

Let us look at three concordances between *CH-BEa HA Spiez 123* and *US-Cn 7.Q.5* that show considerable differences:

1. No. 3 *Le Pont Breton* (PAN 13.034) is interesting because in the early variants in *CH-BEa* and *US-Cn* we are looking at two totally different adaptations of the same piece in the same accord of fdeff. The variants in the two other, later lute sources are in the tuning of edeff, and are, amongst themselves, within the *formulational latitude*. However, they represent a third adaptation of the piece.⁴⁴
2. The treble voice of the *Courante* PAN 4.006 (no. 4), notated an octave lower in *US-Cn 7.Q.5*; *CH-Bu FIX.53*, unites both variants in a single piece, wherein the lower version takes the function of an amended repetition.
3. The theme of *Robin et Margot*⁴⁵ (PAN 13.036, no. 11) identical in both manuscripts; however, the first version shows many differences, and the second version can only be found in *US-Cn*.

Even though *CH-BEa HA Spiez 123* and *US-Cn 7.Q.5* are closely related in terms of repertoire and show six concordances within the *formulational latitude*, the three considerably differing concordances suggest that the collecting was done individually by the writers of the two manuscripts. It is impossible to determine exactly to what extent they have referred to the same sources, as the degree of individual adaptation within the *formulational latitude* is not known.

⁴³ Laurent Guillo, *Pierre I Ballard et Robert III Ballard: Imprimeurs du roy pour la musique (1599-1673)*, vol. 1, p. 129 (Mardaga: Sprimont/CMBV, 2003). Here, Guillo cites Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle, Livre second des instruments*, p. 85: "Ceux qui désireront une plus grande multitude de pieces de tablature sur le luth, peuvent voir celles qu'imprime tous les ans Monsieur Ballard. . . ."

⁴⁴ *D-DI 1214.1*, p. 25.2 *Chanson Francoise*, tuning edeff; *D-Mbs 21646* (Ms. Werl), f. 3v.4 *Chanzon Francoise*, tuning edeff.

⁴⁵ The title has been reconstructed according to Dutch sources listed in the *Nederlandse liederenbank* (see the list of concordances). The two names—since the Middle Ages, "Robin et Marion," a couple in literature—are connected in Clément Marot's epigram *Ung jour Robin vint Margot empoigner*, set to music by Clément Janequin. The title of the arrangement for mandore, *Lobon et Margot*, can only be viewed as a malapropism, as the first name of "Lobon" doesn't exist in French. The incipit *Je sers une dame* of the dancing song by Boyer is a contrafactum.

Example for the Observation of a Writer: A-KR L 81

Rudolf Flotzinger referred to A-KR L 81 as *Lautenbuch von Johann Sebastian von Hallwyl*.⁴⁶ Likewise, the *Dépouillement* by Monique Rollin in volume III/1 of the SMT, which does not mention many sections with missing pages (all in all, about 86 pages have been torn out), refers to *Ms. autographe de Herrn Hallwyl de Innsbruck (1623-1700)* and indicates Upper Austria as a point of origin—without any substantiation.⁴⁷ The von Hallwyl family, whose parent house was a beautiful moated castle in the canton of Aargau, gives us a link to Switzerland. In the late 16th and early 17th centuries, the family was divided into a Swiss and an Austrian branch, and so Johann Sebastian was baptized in Innsbruck in 1622.⁴⁸ However, in my opinion, the inscription “Praeludio de Sebastiani d[omi]ni Sebastiani de Halwihl quod ypsemet (?) decripsit.” does not identify the former as the author of the whole book. It can be read to the effect that an unknown writer entered a prelude, which had been written into another book by Sebastian von Hallwyl’s own hand.⁴⁹

First, let us have a look at the *Allemanda* by René Mesangeau (PAN 3.040), which we encounter in eight manuscripts and in three different accords:

edef: 27-Reymes, 12-Panmure, 13-Wemyss⁵⁰

fdeff: 14-A-KR 81, 10-D-DO 1214.1, 36-Board, 30-Rettenwert

defde: F-Pn Rés. Vmd. Ms. 15

In the first appearance of the first course in the sources 27-Reymes and 12-Panmure 5, the tablature letter “b” is either exceptionally bold or even accompanied by wipe marks, as if an initially intended (and, maybe, even written) “a” had been altered to a “b”: The shift of a half-note is a necessary adaptation to a different accord.⁵¹

⁴⁶ Rudolf Flotzinger, *Die Lautentabulaturen des Stiftes Kremsmünster. Thematischer Katalog* (Wien, 1965) (= *Tabulae Musicae Austriacae II*), pp. 25-34 (commentary) and pp. 72-93 (thematic catalogue).

⁴⁷ Christian Meyer, ed., *Sources Manuscrites en Tablature. Luth et théorbe (c. 1500-c. 1800): Catalogue descriptif*, Vol. III/1: Österreich, Baden-Baden & Bouxwiller (Koerner, 1997), 72-77.

⁴⁸ Carl Brun, *Geschichte der Herren von Hallwyl* (ed. by Inès Keller-Frick) (Bern, 2006), 159-60.

⁴⁹ Andreas Schlegel, “Das so genannte Lautenbuch des Johann Sebastian von Hallwyl,” in *900 Jahre Leben auf Schloss Hallwyl. Hinteres Schloss/Mühleinsel* (= *Beiträge zur Ausstellung im Schloss Hallwyl*, Band 2) (Schloss Hallwyl, 2005), 91-102.

⁵⁰ Short form, see www.accordsnouveaux.ch/de/Abhandlung/Quellen/Quellen.html.

⁵¹ Pictured in André Souris and Monique Rollin, eds., *Œuvres de René Mesangeau* (Paris: Éditions du Centre National de Recherche Scientifique, 1971) (= *Corpus des Luthistes Français*), Planche II.

A-KR L 81 is also special in that it consists of five parts, which are separated by blank or torn out pages,⁵² and which show distinct characteristics.

The first part contains music for ten-course lute in the *vieil ton* and in the accords nouveaux *dedfg / bdei*, *dedff / cegh*, and *NAO* (*nouvel accord ordinaire* = d-minor tuning), and in a total of 34 pieces no less than 15 copies from Pierre Gaultier's print of 1638 in the tuning *dedff / cegh*.⁵³ The name "Gaultier" appears in the spellings "Goutier" (*SMT* 1, 4), "Guttier" (5), and "Gothier" (5) in the first five pieces only, piece number 5 appearing in Pierre Gaultier's print. Therefore, were pieces 1 (in accord *dedfg / bdei*) and 4 (*vieil ton*) also written by Gaultier?⁵⁴

Interpretation of Concordances to a Print

As a first example, we shall take a closer look at Gaultier's pieces in *A-KR L 81*. I claim that, due to a differentiated consideration of concordances to a print, one can possibly discriminate between a handwritten copy of a print and a transcript of a different source (like another transcript of a print, a setting copy, or a pre-/post-transcript from an author's manuscript).

SMT 5 (= CLF 1) Sinfonie Fugue: In *A-KR*, this exceptionally long piece of 77 measures is titled "Guttierts Stück || so er dem Fürsten || von Eggenberg dediciert." It is striking that the writer uses the third person in the same way as he has done with his statement concerning Sebastian von Hallwyl. Besides the appearance of the name *Graf Schlickh* as a "title" in piece no. 74, this provides further evidence of the unknown writer noting the provenance of the pieces. The only other names are *Courant Bouquet* (*SMT 56*)—clearly an attribution to the composer—as well as possibly *Salamon* (62), a piece that has not been identified precisely, but is known in concordances.

⁵² When looking at the original, the rests of the torn out pages are discernible in the crease. However, these rests are hardly ever visible on microfilm. In *RISM B VII*, pp. 158-59, Boetticher expressly mentions that fact!

⁵³ In order, according to Monique Rollin, *Œuvres de Pierre Gaultier* (Paris: Éditions du Centre National de Recherche Scientifique, 1984) (= *Corpus des Luthistes Français*): 1, 2, 7, 9, 8, 10, 11, 13, 12, 2, 4, 5, 6, 53, 54.

⁵⁴ For more information concerning Pierre Gaultier, see François-Pierre Goy's essay in this volume, beginning p. 1.

Next to the attribution, there are the tuning instructions: "Premier Ton Accord || par Vnisons Sinfonie fugue." In comparison, I have found the following differences between the print and *A-KR*:⁵⁵

- Notation of basses (French notation in the print version, with the 7th course as an *a* below the staff, 8th course as /*a*, 9th course as //*a*, and 10th course as ///*a*; Italian notation in *A-KR*, with the 7th course as an *a* below the staff, 8th, 9th, and 10th courses as 8, 9, and X, respectively)
- Missing or altered ornamentation symbols (16 appearances: mm. 5, 9, 11, 16, 24, 27, 36, 42, 44, 46, 52, 53, 54, 56, 59, 74). In the pieces in question, Pierre Gaultier uses, as exceptional symbols, x as a trill, y as a mordent, a mostly open circle around the tablature letter as an appoggiatura from below.
- Missing rhythm symbols. Symbols that were omitted because their repetition is non-compulsory have been counted as "missing" as well, in order to show differences from the printed version (six appearances: mm. 17, 19, 41, 42, 43, 47).
- New interpretations of the rhythms (five appearances: mm. 32, 36, 37, 48, 54)
- Shifted rhythm symbols (five appearances: mm. 38, 39, 45, 52, 53)
- Corrections of type-setting errors (three appearances: mm. 36, 48, 71)
- Corrections of copying errors (one appearance: m. 72)
- Copy of type-setting errors (one appearance: m. 40 missing rhythm symbol)
- Tablature letters shifted by one course (two appearances: mm. 25, 35)

⁵⁵ CLF *Pierre Gaultier* No. 1 *Sinfonie Fugue*: m. 5 comma omitted at 6b (= 6th course, tablature letter b), T. 9 x omitted on the first 4c, m. 11 comma omitted at 5b, m. 16 comma omitted at 1. 6b, m. 17 last rhythm symbol omitted, m. 19 (at line break) rhythm symbol omitted, m. 24 x below 4c instead of above 3c, m. 25 on 3 2a instead of 3a, m. 26 7th course instead of X for 10th course, m. 27 comma omitted at 5c, m. 32 quarter note, then 2b and 4c simultaneously as eighths, m. 35 5c 5d instead of 4c 4d, m. 36 1f without comma instead of 1c with comma on 4th eighth, on 5th eighth sixteenth (typing error corrected), subsequently different rhythm, m. 37 different rhythm in second half, m. 38 shifted rhythm symbols in second half of measure, m. 39 shifted rhythm symbols in first half of measure, m. 40 no rhythm symbols as in print, m. 41 no rhythm symbols, m. 42 no rhythm symbols as in print (no addition 2c as in CLF), x on 6th and 7th eighths instead of 7th eighth only, m. 43 no rhythm symbols, m. 44 y-symbol omitted, m. 45 shifted rhythm symbols, m. 46 comma omitted at 2c, m. 47 rhythm symbols omitted, m. 48 different rhythm: from 2nd quarter note continuous eighths, incorrect bass on 3rd quarter note corrected, m. 52 y-symbol omitted, shifted rhythm symbols, m. 53 shifted rhythm in second half of measure, clarified, m. 54 x missing at 2c, different rhythm, m. 56 x omitted, m. 59 x omitted at 5c, m. 64 paper damaged: "8" not visible, m. 71 missing rhythm symbol corrected, m. 72 correction 3rd course, m. 74 x-symbol on 2nd quarter note missing, m. 77 4a missing in final chord.

- Incorrect bass (m. 26 a as 7th course instead of ///a as in the print, or X, respectively)
 - Incorrect tablature letter (one appearance: m. 36)
 - Omission of a chord tone (one appearance: m. 77)
- In addition, there is one illegible part, due to paper damage (m. 64).

Because later on in the book many pieces with totally or partly missing rhythm symbols can be found, it is to be assumed that the writer first set the tablature letters and then in a second step added the rhythm symbols. This procedure seems to be the normal one at this time.⁵⁶ For that reason, shifts in the rhythm symbols are not surprising. However, it is remarkable that most of the type-setting errors in Gaultier's book have been corrected in A-KR! If we look only at the differences in the tablature letters, merely five differences remain within 77 measures, a remarkably low quota.

In the *Prélude* (SMT 6, CLF 2), the writer made three omissions of four, three, and five notes, respectively, shifted one tablature letter by one course, corrected two typing errors in the bass courses, and omitted one x (trill-symbol with Gaultier). The second omission is harmonically distorting, while the other two omissions will presumably only stand out in direct comparison with the original.⁵⁷

The following *Allemande* (SMT 7, CLF 7)⁵⁸, *Sarabande* (SMT 8, CLF 9),⁵⁹ and *Courante* (SMT 9, CLF 8)⁶⁰ do not show any new kinds of differences. On the other hand, the *Sarabande* (SMT 10, CLF 10) shows a parallel between A-KR and the print (tablature letter a on the 3rd course in m. 4), which was assessed as an error in the CLF-edition

⁵⁶ François-Pierre Goy, "The Origins and History of a Scots-Owned Lute Book: The so-called 'Ruthwen Manuscript' (F-Pn Rés. 1110)," *The Lute* 43 (2008): 4-7.

⁵⁷ CLF No. 2 *Prélude* (*non mesuré*): four notes omitted, bass 8 corrected, three notes omitted, 3c instead of 2c, five notes omitted, bass 8 corrected, paper damage: bass 7 not visible, paper damage: top note k not visible, x below f missing, paper damage: x below e not visible, paper loss: 3c not visible.

⁵⁸ CLF No. 7 *Allemande*: m. 6, third quarter note paper loss: 1c and 2c not visible, m. 9 fourth quarter note 2 x at 2c, m. 11 comma omitted at 5b, m. 13 typing error bass 8 corrected in CLF, rhythm symbol set, m. 14 comma omitted at 6b.

⁵⁹ CLF No. 9 *Sarabande*: m. 1 7a corrected, m. 3 rhythm symbols omitted, m. 6 x omitted, m. 7 x omitted, m. 9 typing error 3c corrected to 3e, m. 12 x omitted, comma at first 3a, m. 14 x omitted, m. 16 paper damage: x and rhythm symbols not visible.

⁶⁰ CLF No. 8 *Courante*: m. 2 x added, m. 4 4a omitted, m. 10 x omitted, m. 14 x omitted, m. 15 x omitted, m. 22 x omitted, m. 23 rhythm symbols and y-symbol omitted, m. 25 x omitted, m. 27 4a omitted in final chord.

(therein corrected to 3c). At the end of m. 6, a quarter note is shown as a rhythm symbol that, thus, remains valid, in m. 7, in second to fourth position, 1c 1a 2c are notated as sixteenths and finally a quarter note 1a with a simultaneous 5a. Thus, the quarter note at the end of m. 6 can be counted as still valid, which means that there is a sixteenth rest missing, nothing unusual in a pragmatic rhythmic notation. In the *CLF*-edition, an equally pragmatic and incorrect solution is suggested with the addition of a dotted quarter note. Now there is one sixteenth too many! Here, there is more reason to doubt the *CLF*-edition than the writer of *A-KR*! Subsequently, on the other hand, in *A-KR*, a clear type-setting error occurred.⁶¹

In the *Courante* (*SMT* 11, *CLF* 11) there is an interesting new rhythmic order in m. 9, which pragmatically and simply corrects the print, which is inexplicit at this point. Again, the reading in *A-KR* is closer to the print than the correction in *CLF*.⁶² The *Sarabande* (*SMT* 12, *CLF* 13) is the last piece in which the basses are notated in the style of Michelagnolo Galilei.⁶³

The differences between the printed version and *A-KR* concern the tablature letters in very few cases, and in seven of eight pieces there are no significant discrepancies in the text. Omissions of notes can be found only in the special case of the *Prélude non mesuré*.

In the following section, the same hand entered seven additional pieces, which Gaultier had printed (*SMT* 25-29 and 36-37). Starting from *SMT* 13, the basses are notated in the French style. Now, the question arises whether the text of the print was reproduced in *A-KR* in a similarly faithful way, as was the case with the first series.

The *Courante* (*SMT* 25, *CLF* 12) shows analogies to the print similar to the previous concordances.⁶⁴ It becomes more interesting when

⁶¹ *CLF* No. 10 *Sarabande*: m. 4 incorrect tablature letter according to *CLF* (?) not corrected, m. 7 missing, unnecessary rhythm symbol pragmatically corrected (in *CLF* "corrected" with a dotted quarter note, then 3 sixteenths!!!), m. 9 typing error 4c not corrected to 4a, m. 14 x omitted, m. 16 x omitted.

⁶² *CLF* No. 11 *Courante*: m. 2 rhythm symbols omitted, 2nd bass 8 instead of 9, m. 6 x omitted, m. 7 comma notated as a y-symbol, m. 9 *A-KR* offers a different solution, which is closer to the—(in-explicit)—original than the correction in *CLF*, m. 10 quarter note instead of eighth, comma instead of x, m. 13 missing rhythm symbol corrected, m. 14 x omitted, m. 15 x omitted, m. 16 comma omitted, m. 18 shifted rhythm symbols, error corrected 2d instead of 3d, m. 19 2nd rhythm symbol missing, m. 24 rhythm symbol missing.

⁶³ *CLF* No. 13 *Sarabande*: m. 1 x added, m. 3 missing rhythm symbol added, sixteenth shifted one note to the right, m. 8 x omitted.

⁶⁴ *CLF* *Pierre Gaultier* No. 12 *Courante*: m. 4 addition point omitted, m. 12 x omitted, m. 13 quarter note omitted, m. 16 first x omitted, m. 18 x omitted, m. 19 x added, m. 21 4a omitted in final chord.

we look at the *Allemande* (SMT 26, CLF 3): Here, nearly all rhythm symbols are missing, and there are remarkable differences: e.g., in m. 2, the segmentation of a chord, which, in the print, was intended to be played simultaneously; in m. 6, the omission of a note, which has a melodic function in the bass; or the omission of an appoggiatura in m. 8.⁶⁵ The following *Courante* (SMT 27, CLF 4) shows, for the first time, substantial differences in mm. 3-4 and 20-22. This leads to the questions of whether our writer made these amendments himself, whether he used a master copy other than the original print, or whether he was simply not attentive at this moment.⁶⁶ The following *Courante* (SMT 28, CLF 5) and *Sarabande* (SMT 29, CLF 6) again extensively correspond to the print apart from the rhythm symbols, which, over long passages, are missing.⁶⁷ Similar considerations apply to the two ballets (SMT 36, CLF 53, and SMT 37, CLF 54), which are written at the back.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ CLF No. 3 *Allemande*: No rhythm symbols from m. 2 to the second to last measure, m. 2 5th eighth 2c instead of 2b, last chord segmented 3c 2c 1e, m. 4 3a instead of 3c, y-symbol on 2nd and 4th eighths (here instead of x-symbol), m. 5 last x omitted, m. 6 3rd eighth 3c omitted, comma omitted at 5th eighth, x omitted at 7th eighth, m. 7 last x omitted, m. 8 appoggiatura omitted at 3rd eighth, y-symbol added on 4th eighth, m. 9 5d omitted in final chord, m. 10 first x omitted, m. 15 first y-symbol omitted, m. 16 2a and 3a omitted in first chord, m. 17 4a omitted in final chord.

⁶⁶ CLF No. 4 *Courante*: m. 3 4c omitted, 3rd quarter is a quarter note 3c (in the print: three tied sixteenths 3c 3a 4c), m. 4 first bass missing, 10th course in octave, end eighth 5e instead of sixteenths 4a 5e, m. 6 no rhythm symbols, m. 7 3rd quarter note 2b with y-symbol instead of 2c with appoggiatura, m. 8 no rhythm symbols, m. 9 quarter note, two eighths, quarter note instead of dotted quarter note, two sixteenths, and quarter note, m. 10 4c added, m. 11 no rhythm symbols, mm. 14-17 no rhythm symbols, mm. 19-22 no rhythm symbols, m. 20 x added on one, three notes 5d 5b 5a instead of 5d dotted quarter note 7a, m. 21 five notes 5b 3c 6d 4c 3a instead of eighths 5b 3a 4a 3c 6d 4c, m. 22 dotted quarter note 10th course with 4c instead of eighths 3a 4a, then eighths 5e three positions with 4a, 4c with 5a and 5e, m. 24 4a omitted in final chord.

⁶⁷ CLF No. 5 *Courante*: no rhythm symbols except in mm. 11, 22, and 24, m. 3 x added on 1st quarter note, omitted on 3rd quarter note, m. 5 x omitted on 3rd quarter note, m. 9 2a 3a omitted on 1st quarter note, 12b on second to last eighth, x omitted, m. 15 x omitted, m. 16 2nd x omitted, m. 17 x omitted on second to last eighth, m. 20 second chord extended by 2a 3a, third chord extended by 2a, m. 21 last quarter note 1f corrected to 1h, m. 24 4a omitted in final chord. CLF No. 6 *Sarabande*: no rhythm symbols in mm. 1-3, m. 5 3a and 3c omitted, m. 7 no rhythm symbols, m. 9-15 no rhythm symbols, m. 11 4c omitted, m. 15 2a omitted.

⁶⁸ CLF No. 53 *Ballet premier*: no rhythm symbols except in the pickup to mm. 1-7, m. 2 y-symbol omitted, m. 3 x- and y-symbols omitted, m. 4 x omitted, m. 5 chord shifted at beginning of measure (bass is played after the beat), x omitted on chord and 6b, m. 8 10th course omitted, x omitted, m. 9 appoggiatura and y-symbol omitted, no rhythm symbol for the first five positions, m. 11-12 no rhythm symbols, m. 13 only quarter note and eighth (without dotting!) notated, falsely written measure line corrected, m. 14 x added, m. 15 3c 4c added to both final chords. CLF No. 54 *Second Ballet*: rhythm symbols only in the beginning of m. 8, as well as in mm. 15-16, m. 1 2c omitted, x omitted below 1a, m. 2 3a omitted in 2nd chord, m. 3 chord shifted at beginning of measure (bass is played after the beat), x added on 6a, m. 5 divergent variation, presumably quarter note 1h, eighth 10th course and 4f, half notes 1h 3g 4f (instead of 1h 2f 3g), m. 6 all 3 x's omitted, m. 8 comma omitted, m. 9 comma at 2nd tablature letter replaced by x at the following tablature letter, comma at last tablature letter replaced by x, m. 10 both x's omitted, m. 12 first x omitted, m. 13 x omitted, m. 14 first x omitted, m. 15 first x omitted.

Let us consider the evidence that suggests a direct transcript of *A-KR L 81* from the print. The single piece of evidence suggesting this is the copying of unusual symbols.

The following points suggest a copy from a transcript of the print or the setting copy, or the pre-/post-transcript from a teacher's manuscript, respectively:

- Corrected typing errors
- The use of Italian bass notation instead of the French symbols used in the print
- Variants as in the *Courante SMT 27, CLF 4*
- The divergences from the order of the pieces in the print, as well as the appearance of pieces from a print in several locations in the manuscript, even though there is no reason for that in the organization of the manuscript, such as, e.g., a change of tunings, collection according to genre, or similar reasons.⁶⁹

Should it be true that the unknown writer of *A-KR L 81* has not himself copied directly from the print, this suggests at least two other, presently unknown sources for Gaultier's music. The view that Gaultier was scarcely known outside of Italy would then be founded merely on the absence of sources.

Station 3: Music in the "vieil ton" for Multi-Course Lute

Let us return to the handwritten appendix to *CH-SO DA 111*. This appendix contains 62 pieces (as well as a fragment by Allison Sharp Pavin—not counted by Greuter, but very revealing—which I describe as [41a]), which have been written by three or possibly five writers.⁷⁰ In the context of writer 2, I have been able to identify one name: Hans Jakob Murer, who was christened in Biel, Switzerland, on March 25, 1588.⁷¹

⁶⁹ In a personal letter, François-Pierre Goy considers that a distinction must be made between copying from a book and copying in the order of a book. A selection can be made because of the choice of the favorite pieces, or of pieces given by a lute teacher for studying, or the lutenist chooses pieces on his own for study. In the print of Pierre Gaultier, a *Sanabande* (CLF no. 47) appears twice on different pages (pp. 52 & 68).

⁷⁰ Greuter, *Solothurner Lautentablatur DA-111* p. 3b, specifies three main writers and two potential further differentiations (possibly five writers in all). We have yet to take a closer look at the identity of the writer in nos. 28-30, 32-35, 36-40, 41a-44, and 54-56.

⁷¹ *CH-BEa K Biel 1* contains the baptismal register of the city of Biel (1578-1622) as well as the marriage register (1606-1652). The first child of Bläsi Murer and Elsbeth Grütterin (Grütter)—Barbara—was christened on October 4, 1584 (p. 79), Christoffel on October 23, 1586 (p. 97),

He appears in the registers of the University of Basel, Switzerland, as No. 103 "Jacobus Murerus Bielenensis—10 ß" in 1606/07. He is listed in the *Album studiosorum Academiae Lausannensis* in Lausanne, Switzerland, on March 18, 1612, and was matriculated in Heidelberg, Germany, on October 2, 1617.⁷² Further potential places of study frequented by Murer have not been successfully established.⁷³ In his 20-volume *Allgemeines Helvetisches, Eydgenössisches oder Schweytzerisches Lexicon*, vol. 12, p. 578 (Zurich 1747-65), Hans Jacob Leu writes about the Biel branch of the Murer family: "A family in the city of Biel, from which Hans Jacob gave his "Theses Theologicas de Prædestinatione" in Heydelberg to be printed in the year 1618, and who in the year 1632 became minister in Hännau, and in the year 1639 deacon in Herisau in the country of Appenzell."⁷⁴ According to Franz, from 1631 to 1639, Jacob Murer was the parish priest of Henau and is said to have started the oldest baptismal register there.⁷⁵ Actually, in the archives of the canton of Appenzell Ausserrhoden, Q.1-1-3 *Synodalarchiv, Synodalacta*, on April 15, 1639, f. 102, we find the entry: "H. Jacob Murer, deacon, has been admitted to the synod on the condition that he produce a testimony by the deacon of Toggenburg, where he has served the churches of Niederglatt and Hennau for several years." In the same archive, Q.1-49-1 *Synodalarchiv, Pfarreiverzeichnis*, established in 1830, we read: "Maurer Jakob of Biel, married to Dorothea Frei, 1639: Birth of the child Israel. Deacon." On April 7, 1640, f. 106 of Q.1-1-3, we find: "Mr. Jacob Murer, Deacon of Herisau, has been admitted to the synod based on his application and the testimony he has produced." About a year later, on April 27, 1641, instead of Murer, the

"our" Jacob on March 25, 1588 (p. 108), Bläsi on November 21, 1589 (p. 120), and Catharina on February 24, 1591 (p. 130). Later, Bläsi Murer married Küngold Müntsch (date unknown). Helias was christened on July 31, 1594 (p. 160), Johannes on March 16, 1597 (p. 186), Hans Caspar on September 10, 1600 (p. 204), and Maria on October 23, 1601. Hans Caspar seems to have died at an early age. Another Hans Caspar was christened on December 9, 1603 (p. 232). Küngold was christened on May 14, 1608. In the marriage register, we find the entry for the marriage of Bläsi Murer and Maria Perro ("Pärro" in the baptismal register) on February 21, 1614. Is this Bläsi Murer, the father (probably over 50 years old) or the son (born 1589, over 22 years old)? On November 14 of the same year, the first child of this marriage, Küngolt, was christened.

⁷² Hans Georg Wackernagel, Georg Triet, and Pius Marrer, eds., *Die Matrikel der Universität Basel. 1601/02-1665/66* (Basel, 1962), 71.

⁷³ Up to this point, I have verified Leiden (although the registers of 1569-1616 have been lost), Mainz, Paderborn (registers only from 1637), Trier, and,—in part,—Würzburg (only partially searched, as being decidedly catholic...).

⁷⁴ "Ein Geschlecht in der Stadt Biel, aus welchem Hans Jacob A. 1618. *Theses Theologicas de Prædestinatione*, Zu Heydelberg in Druck gegeben, und A. 1632 Pfarrer zu Hännau und A. 1639 Diacon zu Herisau in dem Appenzeller Land geworden."

⁷⁵ Johann Friedrich Franz, *Kirchliche Nachrichten über die Gemeinden Toggenburgs, Kanton St. Gallen* (Ebnat, 1824), 206.

list of priests on f. 110 shows one Lienhard Fuchs, deacon of Herisau. In the meantime, I found in several archives over 600 pages of original documents—autograph in large part. The latest is a letter from the town of Straßburg dated 1650, which proves that Hans Jacob Murer was then in this town, and it can be assumed that he died shortly thereafter.⁷⁶

For the dating of the handwritten appendix to *CH-SO DA 111*, Greuter produces the text of the date on f. 36v, which he reads as “le 11 du May 11” and puts it into perspective right away: “... though the latter number is hardly legible, it might also be read as 17, or 19.”⁷⁷ My inquiries with diverse experts on handwritings produced two possible readings: “le 21 dy May 21” or possibly—this being assessed as less probable—“le 21 dy May 11.” The preceding books by Vallet are dated to 1615/16. It seems that this book formed an entity from the beginning. Therefore, a dating in the handwritten appendix that is older than the prints is rather unlikely. The readings of 17 or 19 were refuted by my experts. Thus, a dating of 1621 seems most probable.

Example: “La Boutade”

Furthermore, in the introduction, Greuter argues a concordance between *DA 111* f. 15v *Boutate. Ballardj.* and the *Diverses Piesces mises sur le luth par R[obert] Ballard* (Paris, Pierre Ballard, 1614).⁷⁸ The piece on f. 15v-16r (no. 14 in Greuter’s edition) is included in Ballard’s first book dating from 1612,⁷⁹ pp. 44-45, as *Cinquesme [Courante]*, and is widely disseminated.⁸⁰ The term “Boutade” denotes a “Caprice, saillie d’esprit

⁷⁶ *Q.1-1-3 Synodalarchiu, Synodalacta*, f. 102: “H. Jacob Murer Diaconus ist in den Synodum uff genommen worden mit der Condition dz er ein Testimonium ufflege von dem Decano in Toggenburg da er etliche Jar den Kirchen Niderglat und Hennaue gedient.” *Q.1-49-1, Synodalarchiu, Pfarreiv-erzeichenis*: “Maurer Jakob von Biel, verheiratet mit Dorothea Frei, 1639: Geburt des Kindes Israel. Diacon.” *Q.1-1-3*, f. 106: “Hr. Jacob Murer Diaconus zu Herisau ward uff sein anhalten und eingelegetes Testimonium in Synodum uff genommen.” Message by Dr. Peter Witschi, state archivist, Staatsarchiv Appenzell Ausserrhodens, on August 11, 2010.

⁷⁷ Greuter, p. 4a German, p. 8a English.

⁷⁸ Greuter, p. 4a German, p. 8a English. He reads the title as “Bontate Ballard j..” The letters “u” and “n” are written in a very similar way, and the interpretation as “u” is confirmed by the concordance to *GB-Hadolmeisch Ms. II.B.1*, f. 189-190, which carries the title “La Boutade de Ballard.” The Critical Notes correctly lists the *Premier Livre* by Robert Ballard, however with the obsolete dating.

⁷⁹ Guillo, Vol. II, pp. 102-4. The print’s dated title page is missing. Because of the privilege being issued late in the year (October), and because of the epistle to Queen Maria de Medicis, to whom Ballard was connected only as of 1612, Guillo dates the print in the year 1612 and lists it as *1612-B*. In the same year, *1612-D* (Guédron, *Second livre d’airs de cour, à 4 et 5 parties*) is also furnished with an epistle to Maria de Medicis.

⁸⁰ In the facsimile Robert Ballard, *Premier livre de tablature de luth 1611* (Courlay: Fuzeau, 1995), 13, mentioned in fn. 21 above, nine differently classified concordances are listed.

et d'humeur," but supposedly (according to a *Dictionnaire* dating from 1869) is also an old show dance. By his own account, Robert Ballard is merely a collector (and, presumably, an arranger), not a composer: "J'ai pris la hardiesse de faire imprimer ce que j'ai recueilli de mon labeur...."⁸¹ Obviously, this *Courante* was already being circulated in Paris, when Ballard arranged and edited the print. However, given the structure of its composition, the piece calls for a ten-course instrument—a lute form the existence of which is confirmed in prints only since 1611 in Rome and 1612 in Paris. Thus, it can be stated that ten-course instruments must have existed in Paris even before 1612.

The question of instruments arises in *CH-SO DA 111* as well. Greuter writes that a 7- to 11-course lute be required.⁸² The indication *///a* or 4 for an 11th course never appears in *CH-SO DA 111*. In piece no. 41 *En revenant de St. Nicolas*, however, the 10th course *///a* is accounted for by two notes: In g-tuning intended with C and B-flat. Courses seven, eight, and nine are all equally being used. The same applies to piece no. 62 *Est-ce Mars*, which was entered by the same writer. Thus, an interpretation implying the use of an 11-course instrument presents itself. The current state of research does not allow for this thesis to be proven. In the assembly of repertoire, *double assignments of bass notes (Doppelbelegungen)* are fairly common for the time. This suggests that the source from which the pieces from *CH-SO DA 111* were taken called for an 11-course instrument, while the writer and/or the recipient had only a ten-course instrument.

In this context, it is interesting to note that in the [*Corrente*] 7, on pp. 28-29 of his *Libro primo d'intavolature di lauto* of 1611, Kapsberger calls for an 11-course instrument, and that, on p. 34 of the The Hague copy of Vallet's *Secretum 1*, there is a handwritten piece, "Garr" (?), which clearly designates an 11th course by a figure "4." Around 1623-1627, in *CZ-Pnm IV.G.18 (Rettenwert)*, writer A—who writes in Italian tablature—also notates for an 11-course instrument, though the 11th course could also be played on a dropped (i.e., lower tuned) 10th course. This becomes especially apparent in the courante *Adieu* (Example 2 at the end of this article), to be discussed below. It is notated 334553,⁸³ meaning that—with basses in diatonic tuning—the root is to be played

⁸¹ Dedication to the *Premier livre*. (See fn. 21 above.)

⁸² Greuter, p. 4a German, p.8 English.

⁸³ The *left hand chord fingerings* are notated in tablature descending from the highest sounding 1st course (string or pair of strings) to the 6th course: The numbers indicate the fret to be played, a 0 representing an open string and a dash representing a silent course.

on the 11th course. In the transposition to 01320-, writer A avoids that problem, but—given that he has an 11-course instrument—what for?

A notated 11th course can also be found on today's pp. 2, 3, 4, 5, and 8 of the recently discovered *Rodau Lute Book*⁸⁴—dated 1644 and 1651, but with a note in pencil “um 1635.” The repertoire is notated in French tablature, the basses in Italian notation with 7, 8, 9, 10, and ij. Likewise, a somewhat different variant of *En revenant de St. Nicolas* (no. 41 in *CH-SO DA 111*) entitled *More Pa||latino* is listed in *GB-Lbl Sloane 1021* (Stobäus), f. 65r-65v, the basses in Italian notation with 7, 8, and ii, but without 10. In 1617, when asked about the suitable lute for a beginner, Besard writes in the *Isagoge*: “This lute should, at the least, have ten courses or more.”⁸⁵ The question about the instruments that were available at the time is far more open than the current opinion among lutenists leads us to believe; but let us return to the *Courante La Boutade*.

The variant in *A-KR L 81* (SMT no. 124, f. 151r) is notated with French basses and in *spartito*—i.e., the bar lines are drawn across the whole page. Also, it shows only very few rhythm symbols. However, stylistically informed lutenists will have next to no problem articulating the notes in a rhythmically sensible way. The Unio bound into the *Königsberg Manuscript* (but originating from another manuscript) with the pieces nos. 271-272 and 273-274, contains as piece no. 271 the last 13 measures of the *Boutade*. In this fragment, the basses are notated in Italian style with a, 8, 9, and X.⁸⁶

In Example 1 (at the end of this article), all known variants of the *Boutade* are shown in the uncorrected form (i.e., showing all slips of the pen), but (for programming reasons) with normalized bass notation. For the assessment of concordances, it is essential that there be no corrections of mistakes, because it is the very transmission of mistakes that can show dependencies within tradition. The only limitation to generating exact transcriptions is imposed on us by software, which, e.g., does not allow the juxtaposition of different tablature styles. The tradition of the *Boutade* is, in my experience, a typical example of music in the “vieil ton” from the first half of the 17th century: Not a single version is an exact copy of

⁸⁴ An edition of this lute book by its owner is expected soon. A team of lute specialists is currently at work on it.

⁸⁵ “Diese Laute solle zum wenigsten zehen oder mehr Choros haben.” Jean-Baptiste Besard, *Isagoge in Artem Testudinariam. Das ist: Gründlicher Unterricht, über das Künstliche Saitenspiel der Lauten* (Augsburg: David Franck for Steffan Michelspacher, 1617), 2 = f. Bii v; *Ioh. Bapt. Besardi Vesontini, ad Artem Testudinis [...] Institutio* (Augsburg: David Franck for Steffan Michelspacher, 1617), 2 = f. a[1]v.

⁸⁶ Arthur J. Ness and John M. Ward, eds., *The Königsberg Manuscript* (Columbus, Oh.: Orphée, 1989), 35 at no. 271.

another one. In fact, especially in the case of ornamented repetitions, we are confronted with “*set pieces*” (*Versatzstücke*) of a few notes, seldom whole measures or even longer sections, that are combined in an almost random way. Nevertheless, the recognizability of the underlying piece is rarely compromised. For assessment and classification of the repertoire, it is essential that all concordances be scrutinized for correlations between one another. Since we can assume that especially less knowledgeable collectors could, on one hand, make very exact copies (even though typical copying errors occur from time to time), on the other hand, they were hardly able to include their own variants into their work, and these variants tell us a lot about the degree of relationship. Only largely exact copies can be directly related. Thus, Greuter’s argument that there is a relationship between the version in Ballard and *CH-SO DA 111* could only be correct if the version in *CH-SO DA 111* were an exact copy of Ballard’s print. This, however, is not the case.

The same applies to the following piece: While it is true that the *Courante d’ Avignon* (f. 16v-17r) is included in Ballard’s print of 1614 (entitled *La Vignonne. Septiesme [Courante]*), it is anything but an exact copy. Moreover, like its predecessor, it is an extremely widely disseminated piece, that Ballard—as we know—did not compose, but merely arranged.

Is There a Relationship between CH-SO DA 111 and Lord Herbert of Cherbury’s Lute Book?

Finally, let us take a closer look at the concordances between *CH-SO DA 111* and *Lord Herbert of Cherbury’s Lute Book* (hereinafter referred to as *LHC*) in order to assess Greuter’s interpretations mentioned at the beginning.⁸⁷

CH-SO DA 111 no. 6; without Title. In *LHC*, the piece figures on f. 66r as no. 179 in AB form, and is titled *Courante: Pieterzon*. It is a courante that can be found in four other sources: *D-B 4022*, f. 6r below without title and in AB-form, *Fuhrmann 1615*, p. 162 above as *Courante 1*, AB as well; *D-Ngm 33748/271.1* fol. 42v as *Corändt NB*; and *GBHAdolmetsch II.B.1*, fol. 212v-213r as *Courante Balard* in AB form.

⁸⁷ In addition to the sources mentioned above, I was allowed to use François-Pierre Goy’s as-yet-unpublished work on the lute book by Lord Herbert of Cherbury. I would like to express my deep gratitude to the author! John Robinson and Joachim Lüdtke offered great assistance in the comparison of sources and with some of my subject-related questions. I would like to extend my sincere thanks to them as well.

The attribution to Sweelinck cited by Greuter is doubted by the Sweelinck specialist Pieter Dirksen and by François-Pierre Goy.⁸⁸ The circumstance alone that the form AA'B[B'] could be present in *CH-SO DA 111*—due to missing pages, the piece is cut short after the 12th measure of the second part—makes it impossible for the sources to be directly related. *CH-SO DA 111* is, however, closer to *LHC* than *Fuhrmann*—partly because of the ten-course instrument as opposed to the eight-course lute in *Fuhrmann*. *D-B 4022* shows many minor differences that suggest an independent line of tradition.

There is an interesting peculiarity about the way writer 1 in *CH-SO DA 111* notates the dots augmenting a note's value: Frequently, he does not place his dots behind the note value to be augmented, but in front of the following note value, even if there is a considerable distance between the two notes.

CH-SO DA 111 no. 7: Courante de Gautier. In *LHC*, this courante figures on f. 46v below (no. 120). The differences are less significant, but nevertheless suggest that there is no common master copy here either, let alone a copy of *LHC*. The concordance to Nuremberg (*D-Ngm 33748/371.1*, f. 45r, "Corändt") is closer to *LHC* than to *DA 111*, though here as well, the differences hardly change the substance of the piece.

CH-SO DA 111 no. 8/9: Courante de Gautier / La precedente avec le Redoubli. This courante is supposedly concordant to *LHC* f. 49v. There are two interesting things about that: First, *CH-SO DA 111* no. 8 notates the parts in AB form, while no. 9 is set AA'BB', the differences between parts A and B being marginal.⁸⁹ Second, no. 8/9 is notated in B-flat major, while both *LHC* (AB only) and the concordance in Robert Dowland's *Variete*, f. Sv above (Volt 4, AB only) are notated in F major. The differences between *LHC* and Dowland are too significant for there to be a common master copy. John Robinson evaluates the Solothurn versions as non-concordant.

CH-SO DA 111 no. 10: L'Adieu de Gautier. In *LHC*, the courante entitled *L'Adieu* is listed as no. 128 on f. 49v-50r. It is set AB/

⁸⁸ Personal communication with François-Pierre Goy, August 14, 2010.

⁸⁹ Confusion in no. 9 m. 10: 10th course notated instead of 9th, m. 11 rhythm symbol omitted, mm. 33/19 2d added on 3rd course, mm. 39/25 in no. 8 9th course notated instead of 8th, mm. 40-41/26-27 somewhat different ending.

A'B'; the variant is noted in the footer of the page; and there are two measures missing at the beginning of the second part. Thus, again, *CH-SO DA 111* cannot possibly be a direct copy of *LHC*. The parallel reading (Example 2, at the end of this article) should offer insight into the kinds of divergences that are typical in this music. It shows again the “*set pieces*” that were mentioned in the context of the Boutade.⁹⁰

CH-SO DA 111 no. 41/45/55 En me revenant de Saint Nicolas. An exact attribution is made impossible by the sheer mass of concordances: Today, 26 lute versions are known (again with internal concordances), five for mandore, and two for guitar. Apart from that, there is a vast number of song versions and arrangements for other instruments. In *CH-SO DA 111*, we find the piece twice notated in B-flat major and once in F major. The version in *LHC* f. 31r below is not directly related to *CH-SO DA 111* no. 55. Neither is *LHC* f. 44r below directly related to *CH-SO DA 111* nos. 41 and 45, respectively. *Est-ce Mars* is one of the few pieces that stayed alive from its creation in 1613 all the way to the end of the 20th century.⁹¹

CH-SO DA 111 no. 61: [Coura]nte de Perrichon. This courante by Perrichon (*CLF* no. 18) was widely disseminated as well, and can be found in many different keys and versions.⁹²

Thus, we can refute Greuter's view of *CH-SO DA 111* being closely related to *LHC*. Equally, his hypothesis concerning Gautier's

⁹⁰ Commentary on the concordances:

D-Hs ND VI 3238 (Schele), p. 89.2: *Courante*: AB (very close to *LHC*; in comparison to *LHC*: Confusing g instead of y in m. 10, m. 11 missing, m. 13 d on 2nd course instead of 3rd, m. 17 chord synchronized instead of shifted—thus a rhythmic mistake, m. 20 letters of the treble voices 1st course set too high m. 22 g missing in 3rd course, m. 24 g instead of d in 3rd course, mm. 26/3-28 different ending.

CZ-Pnm IV.G.18 (Rett.), f. 162v: *Courante*, 11 courses, F E-flat D-flat B-flat; Italian tablature, minor differences in the arrangement, mainly basses notated in octave.

CZ-Pnm IV.G.18, f. 118v-119r: *Courante Transp*: G.M.: transposed up one note, occasional transpositions of an octave.

RUS-SPan O No 124 (Swan), f. 74v-75r (no. 134): *A Dieu de Gothier* AA'BB': almost identical to *LHC*, mistakes rather than real variations, B' complete.

⁹¹ Eberhard Nehlsen, “Von ‘Est-ce Mars’ zu ‘Wer geht mit, juche’: Die Geschichte einer populären” *Jahrbuch für Volksliedforschung* 35 (2009): 73-94.

⁹² For the latest summary, see Joachim Lüdtke, “Köln, Historisches Archiv der Stadt, Best. 7020 Nr. 328., 2. Teil: Zur Notation und zur Musik; Datierung und Einordnung; Inventar,” *Lauten-Info* 1 (2010): 4-21, especially 15 and 17.

identity—Greuter believes him to be Jacques rather than Ennemond—is now deprived of all foundation.

However, the handwritten appendix to *CH-SO DA 111* not only includes international, “modern” repertoire, but also German song material.⁹³ Among it, we find extremely refined pieces like no. 37 (f. 30v-31r; in C minor) entitled *Wie unmenschliche Ewigkeit*, which can be found in a much more homophonic version in *D-LEm II.6.15*, f. [13v] as *Wie unmenschliche traurigkeit* in D minor. It would go beyond the scope of this study to discuss all concordances and all peculiarities of the book in detail, e.g., the unfinished version of Richard Allison’s *Sharp Pavane* on f. 35v in version 2b in F according to the complete edition by John Robinson and Stewart McCoy,⁹⁴ or the previously unknown, finished version (also in F) of the same *Sharp Pavane* on f. 36v-37r, or further pieces arranged by Ballard (?) and composed by a “Gautier.” Therefore, let me announce a separate upcoming study concerning *CH-SO DA 111*.

Station 4: The Benzenauer in D-B 40588 and CH-SAM FP/M 1

Again, we need to take a closer look at the sources I am concentrating on, since new insights need to be presented. First I shall discuss the older source.

D-B 40588. On f.1, the manuscript containing 44 folios in a format of 11x16cm (12° across) and 62 pieces is dated “Anno Domini 1552 || 30. December.” This date mark, however, was not made by the original writer. Most of Wildegge castle (see below) was destroyed by a fire on Whitsunday 1552, which leads us to the question of whether the dating denotes the refilling of the castle’s library rather than the creation of the manuscript.

Until at least 1974, the book was bound into a sheet of parchment taken from a missal with unstaffed neumes from the end of the 14th century.⁹⁵ It was restored before 1989, and in the process, the

⁹³ Eberhard Nehlsen kindly gave me the hints that led to the underlying melodies and “Liedflugschriften,” for which I am most grateful.

⁹⁴ John Robinson and Stewart McCoy, *The Solo Music of Richard Allison with Bandora and Cittern Arrangements* (The Lute Society Music Editions, 1995), Lute solo 2: *The Sharp Pavan*, commentary pp. xv-xviii, tablature of the version 2b pp.6-7.

⁹⁵ Markus Jenny, *Eine wiedergefundene musikalische Zwingli-Quelle*, in: *Zwingliana* 1974, pp. 17-21, especially p. 17.

jacket was removed and replaced by a brown leather cover.⁹⁶ So far, only Markus Jenny took note of that jacket, which, when viewed under UV light, reveals the crucial hint as to its owner and history: "Salomon Kesler (?) || ... [won]hafft zu Brugg || Dem Ersamen vnnd wysen gne || digen [?] Statt Vater [?] zu Kur." Jenny writes: "This seems to be an address, to which the book was shipped at the time; 'Kur' can only mean the capital city of Rhaetia. [The city of Chur in today's canton of the Grisons, Switzerland.] It will hardly be possible to identify the addressee with certainty. One might think of Lucius Heim, who, between 1538 and 1555, was a seven-time mayor of Chur, and who was held in high esteem. Johannes Comander, who was often called 'Vater' ('father'), would not have been referred to as 'Stadtvater' ('father of the city')."⁹⁷

The paper suggest a Zurich origin;⁹⁸ this is supported by Huldrych Zwingli's *Kappelerlied*, which is included in two versions with different *left hand chord fingerings*.⁹⁹ The *Kappelerlied*, however, can also be found as no. 61 on f. 65v-66r of *CH-Bu FX 21*. In this source, listed as no. 56 on f. 62r, we can also find the tenor part of an otherwise lost ensemble version of the *Benzenauer*. In *D-B 40588*, there is also a prayer by Switzerland's national saint, Saint Niklaus von der Flüe.¹⁰⁰

From an unknown point in time until at least 1848, the manuscript might have been located in the library of Wildegge castle, a few kilometers from Brugg, canton of Aargau, Switzerland. We know this from a handwritten copy entitled *Die Lautenschule. / Ein Geschenk aus dem Schlosse Wildegge*, wherein we find several date marks that go from 1848 to 1852.¹⁰¹ At least in part, the copy was made by Robert Lucas

⁹⁶ Niehüser, Heiner: *Die Handschrift Mus. Ms. 40588 der Staatsbibliothek Berlin "TABULATUR UF DIE LUTEN." Eine Lautenschule aus der Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Magisterarbeit [Master's thesis], Univ. of Heidelberg 1989), 2. This missal parchment is now preserved and catalogued as N.Mus.ms 10327 (personal communication with Roland Schmidt-Hensel, August 12, 2011).

⁹⁷ "Das scheint eine Adresse zu sein, unter welcher das Buch damals übersandt wurde; mit Kur kann nichts anderes als die rätische Kapitale [Chur] gemeint sein. Wer der Adressat ist, dürfte schwerlich mit Sicherheit feststellbar sein. Man könnte an Lucius Heim denken, der zwischen 1538 und 1555 siebenmal Bürgermeister von Chur war und hohes Ansehen genoss. Johannes Comander, der oft 'Vater' genannt wurde, wäre wohl nicht als 'Stadtvater' bezeichnet worden." Jenny, p. 19, fn. 7, referring to Lucius Heim in Traugott Schiess, ed., *Bullingers Korrespondenz mit den Graubündnern* vol. 1 (Basel, 1904), XLV.

⁹⁸ According to Jenny, p. 19, similar to *Briquet 881* (1549), but broader (Zurich coat of arms, held by two ascending lions).

⁹⁹ These *left hand chord fingerings* are notated in tablature descending from the highest sounding 1st course (single string or string pair) to 6th course: The numbers indicate the fret, the 0 representing an open string and the dash representing a silent course.

¹⁰⁰ "O Herr, nimm von mir, Das mich wendst von dir, O Herr, gib mir, Das mich kehrt zu dir, O Herr, nimm mich mir, Und gib mich ganz eigen dir," p. 9.

¹⁰¹ Currently in the Burgerbibliothek Bern, *Ms. Hist. Helv. XLIV.135*.

(de) Pearsall (1795-1856), who lived in Wartensee castle near Rorschach (at Lake Constance) from 1843 to his death.¹⁰² The transcriptions of the tablature into the guitar notation of the day are exceptional for that time. It is questionable whether Pearsall or one of the other persons involved in the transcription received the manuscript itself as a gift, or if the note of donation refers to the copy, meaning that it originates in Wildegg. The Effinger family, whose family tree shows a Brugg and a Berne branch, lived in Wildegg castle from 1438 until 1912.¹⁰³ In 1911 the castle became the property of the Swiss Confederation.

The Wildegg library catalogues from 1756 and 1801, respectively, have yet to be examined. For that reason it is not yet possible to provide reliable information about when the manuscript was possibly included in or removed from the Wildegg library.

In 1876, Father Anselm Schubiger published a sketch from the *Lautenkragen* from the copy (or the original?), and commented: "Around 20 years ago, his friend P. Alberik Zwyssig, who unfortunately passed on at a far too early age, transmitted to him . . . a depiction of this lute system which he drew on straw paper by his own hand . . ." ¹⁰⁴

In 1884 Gustav Weber mentions a handwritten copy *Tabulatur auf die Lauten (entziffert von Pearsall)*, which was found in the estate of Hans Georg Nägeli, and which obviously refers to the copy now kept in Berne.¹⁰⁵

In 1974, one after another, Jürg Stenzel, Martin Staehelin, and Raymond Meylan pointed out *D-B 40588* to Jenny, who had thought it lost. This information led to Jenny's article *Eine wiedergefundene Zwingli-Quelle*. However, he did not make the link to the Bernese copy,

¹⁰² Robert Lucas (de) Pearsall studied with Josef Panny in Mainz from 1825 (?) until 1829; 1832 studies with Ett in Munich; 1834 private studies in Vienna. He was a pioneer of Cecilianism in England. Possibly, it was the same Robert Lucas (de) Pearsall who sold to England the missal of the von Hallwyl family (writer's entry: "Per me Ulricum Hirslin de Lentzburg anno 1483"), which was kept at Wartensee castle for testamentary reasons. Meanwhile, it has been returned to the canton of Aargau, and can be seen at the Museum Burghalde, Lenzburg. See: Charlotte Bretscher-Gisiger, Rudolf Gamper, and Susan Marti, *Das Missale des Ulrich Hirslin—Eine prächtige Handschrift aus Lenzburg* (Lenzburg, 2006), especially pp. 22-24.

¹⁰³ The history of Wildegg castle and the Effinger family is shown in an exemplary way in Bruno Meier, *Gott regier mein Leben: Die Effinger von Wildegg. Landadel und ländliche Gesellschaft zwischen Spätmittelalter und Aufklärung* (Baden, 2000); Felix Müller, *Austerben oder verarmen? Die Effinger von Wildegg: Eine Berner Patrizierfamilie während der Aufklärung und Revolution* (Baden, 2000).

¹⁰⁴ "Vor beiläufig 20 Jahren theilte ihm sein leider allzufrüh dahin geschiedener Freund P. Alberik Zwyssig . . . eine von seiner eigenen Hand auf Strohpapier durchgezeichnete Abbildung dieses Lautensystems mit . . ." Anselm Schubiger, "System der Lauten aus einem Manuscript vom Jahre 1532 [!] (mit Abbildung)," *Monatshefte für Musikgeschichte* 8, no. 1 (1876): 6-7.

¹⁰⁵ Gustav Weber, H. Zwingli, *Seine Stellung zur Musik und seine Lieder: Die Entwicklung des deutschen Kirchengesanges. Eine kunsthistorische Studie* (Zurich, 1884), 30f.

of which I first heard in the course of my research for the CD *Schweizer Lautenmusik—Lautenmusik aus Schweizer Handschriften*. I wrote to all major Swiss libraries in 1988 and obtained a copy of it.

It is especially the history of research concerning this manuscript that shows the importance of contact between hymnologists, song researchers, and lute specialists. Up until the present combination of research results, one hardly knew anything about the other.

Like many tuning instructions from the 16th century, the tuning instructions on f. 2r should be viewed against the background of fret setup with non-equal tempered tunings / temperaments.¹⁰⁶

The Benzenauer is included in six versions:¹⁰⁷

Lt 7 T1 2330--, pp. 14-15: *Benzenouwer*

Lt 8 T1 02320-, pp. 16-17: *Benzenouher Zürich tantz*

Lt 9 T1 02320-, pp. 18-19: *Mejtlj thund dir dzän we*

Lt 10 T1 2330--, pp. 48-49: *Benzenouwer coleriert*

Lt 11 T1 002220, pp. 50-51: *Benzenouwer*

Lt 12 T1 02320-, pp. 52-53: *Benzenouwer*

CH-SAM FP/M 1: 1563¹⁰⁸ This handwriting in German tablature formatted 15x20 cm, containing 28 folios and 46 pieces, is dated "1563" in two places. The more interesting of these two date marks can be found on f. 18v: The title there reads: *Ein gutter || Bentzinou=||wer .63.* || *SV P I. V.S.* Staehelin assumes "I.V.S." to be the monogram of Johannes von Salis. Since there is a lot of evidence from the correspondence with Bullinger—Bullinger was the successor to Huldrych Zwingli at the Grossmünster cathedral in Zurich after the latter's death in the battle of

¹⁰⁶ The most recent publications on this subject are Werner von Strauch, *Handbuch der Stimmungen und Temperaturen: Ein praktischer Leitfaden für die Spieler von Bund- und Tasteninstrumenten* (Berlin: Pape, 2009); and Andreas Schlegel and Joachim Lüdtke, *The Lute in Europe 2. Lutes, Guitars, Mandolins and Citterns* (Menziken: The Lute Corner, 2011), 42-66. The different interpretations of, e.g., the Gerle tuning instructions, that were suggested ever since the mid-1970s, point out the difficulty of the texts often being ambiguous. The growing experiences with non-equal tempered fret setups should lead to more broadly accepted interpretations in the future.

¹⁰⁷ Abbreviations like "Lt 7 T1" refer to the following essay: Eberhard Nehlsen and Andreas Schlegel, "Der Benzenauer—Lied, Ton und Tanz," in *Tagungsband Kultur- und kommunikationshistorischer Wandel des populären Liedes im 16. Jahrhundert*, ed. by Albrecht Classen, Michael Fischer, and Nils Grosch, Münster (in preparation). The "Quellenkatalog" (source catalog) is available at <http://www.freidok.uni-freibur.de/volltexte/8225/>. In that essay, the sources and traditions of the Benzenauer are described and assessed in great detail. In the present paper, only the question of concordances is addressed.

¹⁰⁸ The Swiss sources (including CH-SAM FP/M 1 & 2) are discussed and, if possible, given as on-line facsimiles or links to the library sites on http://www.accordsnouveaux.ch/de/Quellen_CH.html.

Kappel in 1531—he can prove Johannes von Salis' playing the lute and studying in Basel during 1562-63.¹⁰⁹

The handwritten copy was owned by the von Salis family. Therefore, it is very probable that Johannes von Salis was at some point, the proprietor of the manuscript. However, was it his handwriting? Students from the Grisons were numerous in Basel and also from the rival von Planta family (S.V.P., e.g., "Sim. Planta, Rh.—Stip." in the year 1569-70!). Furthermore, a Josua von Salis was matriculated in Basel in 1563-64.¹¹⁰ Tobias Sterneis, or Sternis, who was matriculated in Basel in 1549 as "Tobias Sterneiss Monacensis," appears twice (f. 3v and 13v). Later matriculations can be found on May 3, 1550, in Heidelberg (there as "de Landtsberg") and on August 20, 1550, in Tübingen.¹¹¹ The connection to Munich is remarkable regarding *CH-SAM FP/M 2*, which, according to Staehelin and Dorf Müller, was written by the main writer of *D-Mbs 1512*.¹¹² Moreover, on f. 4r and 14v, we find the monogram "HW," which could stand for Hans Jakob Wecker (of whom we have a print of lute duets published in 1552), Wolf Heckel, Heinrich Werker (historically for "Bercker," Johannes von Salis' lute teacher), or Hans Widenhuber (according to Gesner, a lute book by him must have existed, though it is unknown today).¹¹³

As a solution to the monogram, Raymond Meylan suggested in a personal talk a play of words, SVP[ER]IVS, in which this might refer musically to the position of the cantus prius factus, which is, in spite of its title, *not* a Benzenauer, but a bassedanse with the Tenor *Le petit rouen*.¹¹⁴

While *D-B 40588* always uses the same characters, our writer in *CH-SAM FP/M 1* uses differing characters for the 6th course in the pieces *SMT* nos. 34 and 35. If he has copied from several master copies or one mixed master copy, this is not astonishing, but points to the fact that

¹⁰⁹ Martin Staehelin, "Neue Quellen zur mehrstimmigen Musik des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts in der Schweiz," *Schweizer Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft* 3 (1978): 57-83, especially 79-80.

¹¹⁰ Jakob Rudolf Truog, "Die Bündner Studenten in Basel von 1460-1700 und die Studien der Bündner Prädikanten von 1701-1842," in 68. *Jahresbericht der Historisch-antiquarischen Gesellschaft von Graubünden*, 1958, 75-123, especially p. 84.

¹¹¹ Hans Georg Wackernagel, ed., *Die Matrikel der Universität Basel 1532/33-1600/01* (Basel, 1956), 63, no. 16.

¹¹² Staehelin, pp. 81-82; Kurt Dorf Müller, *Studien zur Lautenmusik in der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Tutzing, 1967), 15-19.

¹¹³ Staehelin, 79-81.

¹¹⁴ Raymond Meylan, "Migration et transformation des polyphonies à armatures (basse danse et Hofanz)," in Jean-Michel Vaccaro, ed., *Le concert des voix et des instruments à la renaissance, actes du XXXIVe Colloque International d'Etudes Humanistes* (Paris: Tours, Centre d'Etudes Supérieures de la Renaissance, 1995), 213-29, especially 222.

the notation of the 6th course can contain important information and should, therefore, be notated. Equally, this applies to special symbols, as in pieces nos. 37 and 40 the “1”-symbol, which is crossed out by a curlicue, and which Robert Grossman interprets as a rest.¹¹⁵ Remarkably, in this manuscript as well, we find many pieces that appear several times in different *left hand chord fingerings*:

- Lt 14 T1 2330--, f. 6v-7r: *Benzenou||wer*
 Lt 15 T1 02320-, f. 8r-8v: *Bentzinou||wer Can||tilena*
 Lt 16 T1 002220, f. 8v-9r: *Bentzi||nouwer || dantz*
 Lt 17 T1 02320-, f. 9r: *Bentzi||nouwer || Aliter*
 Lt 18 T1 02320-, f. 12r-12v: *Bentzinower || oder Zuricher || tanz. || Discant*
 Lt 19 = le petit rouen, f. 18v-19r: *Ein gutter || Bentzinou=||wer. 63. || ~~SVP~~-I.V.S.*
 Lt 20 T1 2330--, f. 25r: *Bentzinouwer || oder Zurich || tantz Tenor*

The Benzenauer as a Possible Duet/Trio, and as an Example for Tenor-Related Music

The first thing that led to the comparison of the different versions was of course the title. But it is the “Benzenauer” based on the tenor *Le petit rouen*—and which, therefore, not a Benzenauer at all—that shows us that titles can be misleading. (By the way: Basse dance themes like *Le petit rouen* or *La Spagna* seem to be part of the musical life until the end of the 16th century.¹¹⁶) Another case is the re-naming of pieces: Who would suspect a song about a toothache would be a Benzenauer? So, What *is* a Benzenauer?¹¹⁷

¹¹⁵ Robert Grossman, ed., *Die Samedaner Lautenhandschrift von 1563. Die Wiesel-Handschrift für Tasteninstrumente von 1616* (= Musica veglia in Engiadina, Band 1) (Samaden 19892), 26-27, 32-33.

¹¹⁶ As didactic music, the *Spagna* remained very much alive until the late 16th century, for instance in Ortiz (1553, *Ricercare* 2-6) or as a *Bicinien* with Vinci (1560), Il Verso (1596), and Correto (1600). The intabulations in *CH-Sgv VadSlg P 3060* (as a handwritten appendix to the famous Morlaye/Gorlier guitar books) show that such didactic literature was definitely received in the lute world. For relevant literature, see:

Daniel Hertz, “Parisian Music Publishing under Henry II: A Proposal for Four Recently Discovered Guitar Books,” *The Musical Quarterly*, 46, no. 4 (Oct. 1960): 448-67.

Andrea Bornstein, *Two-Part Italian Didactic Music. Printed Collections of the Renaissance and Baroque (1521-1744)* (Bologna, 2004), Vol. 1, p. 32, and www.bicinium.info.

The two bicinia and a few notes can be viewed at www.accordsnouveaux.ch/de/Quellen_CH/Quellen_CH.html.

¹¹⁷ This summary—in its shortest possible form—can be completed by a lot of detailed knowledge

First and foremost, the Benzenauer is a song that goes back to an event in Kufstein in 1504. The earliest lyric tradition—without any indication to the melody, which is quite unusual—dates back to the same year. A contrafactum, i.e., a new lyric to the Benzenauer melody (Weise/Ton/Lied¹¹⁸), first appears in 1509. The latest incipit is to be found on a Basel print of 1605. There are 37 pieces carrying the incipit “Benzenauer” known to us today. There is a melody originating in the Bavarian-Austrian border region, which was recorded around 1460, and which possibly provided the musical elements for the Benzenauer melody.¹¹⁹ We know the Benzenauer melody only from fragments of two quodlibets from 1540 and 1544, as well as from a complete version from 1550, which is a contrafactum.¹²⁰

The oldest report of an instrumental arrangement of the Benzenauer melody is a keyboard tablature, in which, around 1518, Jacob Ceir notated the “Dantz moss. Benczenauher” by Johannes Buchner.¹²¹ In 1523, the tradition of lute sources started with Judenkünig. Not counting the *Petit rouen* version, we know of 24 lute traditions, the latest originating between 1591 and 1594.

Three *left hand chord fingerings* have been passed down for the lute versions: 02320- / 2330-- / 002220.¹²² They can be attributed to the descant lute in d², the alto lute in a¹, and the tenor lute in g¹, so that all instruments would sound the same harmony if played simultaneously. The indications in *CH-SAM FP/M 1* with “Cantilena” (Lt 15), “Discant” (Lt 18), or “Tenor” (Lt 20) in the titles offer a hint in this direction. One cannot definitely say whether these are duets in the sense of versions that should be played simultaneously. At the very least, they are “performing suggestions,” and improvising at dancing events must have been part of the craft at the time (see Fig. 2).

and the complete list of sources as well as the discussion thereof, which can be found in the above-mentioned article by Eberhard Nehlsen and myself.

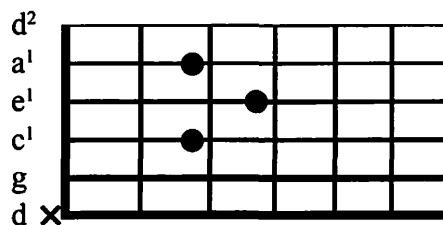
¹¹⁸ These three terms are used synonymously in the sources.

¹¹⁹ *CZ-VB Ms. 1 VB 8 b* (so called *Hohenfurter Liederbuch*), f. 101v-104r: *Wol auf, wer pass well wandern*.

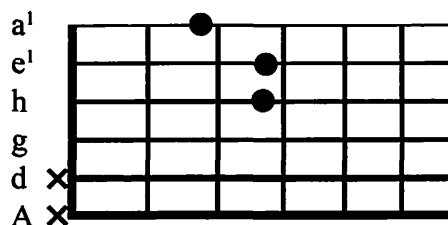
¹²⁰ Georg Forster, *Der ander Theil. Kurtzweiliger guter frischer teutscher Liedlein* . . . (Nuremberg: Johannes Petreius, 1540). Song no. LX (Part of a quodlibet); Wolfgang Schmeltzl, *Guter, selzamer, vnd künstreicher teutscher Gesang* . . . (Nuremberg: Johannes Petreius, 1544), Song no. 6 (Part of a quodlibet); *D-DI M. 53*, f. 160r-163r: *Ein lied vnd vermanung an die Lantzcknechte* (...) *jn des Benzenauers Thon zu singen*.

¹²¹ *CH-Bu F IX 22*, f. 72v-73v: *DANTZMOSS. || BENCZENAUHER || M.[eister] H.[ans] V.[on] Constantz.* (= Johannes Buchner).

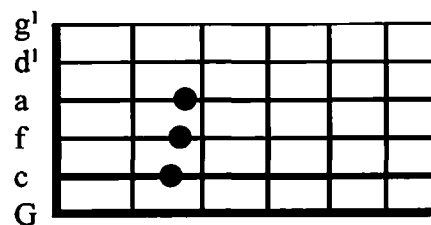
¹²² The *left hand chord fingerings* are notated in tablature descending from the 1st course (string or pair of strings) to the 6th course: The numbers indicate the fret to be played, a 0 representing an open string, a dash representing a silent course. (See also fn. 83 above.)



Left hand chord fingering 02320-
realized on a descant lute in d2:
sounding notes:
g d¹ g¹ h¹ d²



Left hand chord fingering 2330-
realized on an alto lute in a1:
sounding notes:
g d¹ g¹ h¹



Left hand chord fingering 002220-
realized on a tenor lute in g1:
sounding notes:
G d g h d¹ g¹

Figure 2 - *Left hand chord fingering*. Given beginning with the highest sounding course. Notes to be played:
Given from the lowest sounding note to the highest

The special thing about the lute versions is that the melody—which, in the only known version for keyboard instruments and in the nine ensemble sources, is kept in the tenor voice—sounds in most cases in the treble voice. Only in some versions for descant lute does it sound in a middle voice. This is also the case in the newly discovered toothache-Benzenauer *Mejtlj thund dir dzän we* (= *Girl, do you have toothache?*). Lt 17 (*Bentzi||nouwer || Aliter*) from *CH-SAM FP/M 1* is, with the exception of a few copying errors, identical to Lt 9 from *D-B 40588*.¹²³ One might be tempted to view the version in *CH-SAM* as a copy of *D-B*. We must, however, keep in mind that we have no knowledge about hundreds of lute books that must have existed in the region at the time, because they are no longer available today.

Now we find ourselves in the context of the tenor song. In today's research, the opinion is often expressed that four-part polyphonic variant was the standard version perceived as the center of reference by the people of the time. Accordingly, the two- or three-part variations, as they appear in the lute repertoire, are sometimes referred to as "song ruins." Is that true?

Dorf Müller assumes that, in two-part intabulations of tenor songs, the descant lute, which is notated a fourth above the alto lute, plays the superius with varying degrees of ornamentation,¹²⁴ as is traditional with Spinacino, Dalza, or Schlick.¹²⁵ From the sources *Newsidler 1536-6* and *D-Mbs 1512*, which contain several pieces notated in two parts (transposed up a fourth) and in three parts (in normal voice), Meyer concludes that, apparently, duet playing was much more common than originally assumed.¹²⁶ Dupraz¹²⁷ disagrees and proves that not all sources

¹²³ In *CH-SAM*, the tablature letter "1" (5th course open), which, in *D-B* is correctly notated and clearly legible, turns into an overlined f (6th course, 2nd fret). Then, in the 3rd "Grosstakt" (group of measures) in part C of *D-B*, the chord 30-2 is crossed out, and the reader is referred to a diminished version written below, which does not appear in *CH-SAM*, and where we find the chord crossed out in *D-B*.

¹²⁴ Dorf Müller, 108.

¹²⁵ Francesco Spinacino, *Intabulatura de lauto, libro primo* (Venice: Ottaviano Petrucci, 1507), nos. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12; and . . . *libro secondo* (Venice: Ottaviano Petrucci, 1507), no. 29. Joanambrosio Dalza, *Intabulatura de Lauto Libro Quarto* (Venice: Ottaviano Petrucci, 1508), nos. 42, 43, 44. Arnolt Schlick, *Tabulaturen Etlicher Lobgesang und lidlein . . .* (Mainz: Peter Schöffer, 1512).

¹²⁶ Christian Meyer, *Contribution à l'étude des sources de la musique de luth dans les pays germaniques au XVI^e siècle*. (Diss. Univ. Strassbourg, 1986, unpublished), pp. 388-92.

¹²⁷ Christophe Dupraz has authored the fundamental paper on printed music for several lutes: *Musique pour luths (1507-1601): Catalogue raisonné et édition moderne du repertoire pour plusieurs luths imprimé à la Renaissance. Analyse musicale des mises en tablature de modèles polyphoniques* (diss., Tours, 2001). Unfortunately, his dissertation, containing 664 text pages and 1175 pages of music transcriptions, was not printed, and the computer configuration that was used to write the paper cannot be reconstructed. Thus, the books have been available only as printouts. In 2009—with

with two-part intabulations include duet pairs in the discant and alto voices, and that we also find the third-interval.¹²⁸ I decidedly express the opinion that, through more detailed observation of the different version of a tenor song (and especially of the concordances), the claim stating that the four-part vocal arrangement virtually dictated the sound of a tenor song can be refuted. In fact, we should instead assume an equivalent coexistence of several ways of performance and publication. The only thing they have in common is the tenor (alias the melody), at least in most cases. Consequently, the transposition and the appearance of versions with different *left hand chord fingerings* do not automatically mean that we are dealing with duets or ensemble pieces for several lutes.

Conclusions and Perspectives

We are now at the point where we can summarize findings from the different examples. Here, a second level comes into play: When registering the pieces, what information needs to be collected in order to identify every single piece? Most findings are common to the whole field of lute music independent of the repertory. Such common findings are marked with an asterisk (*).

Prints—Example Vallet

Guidelines for treating the Vallet example are shown on pp. 104-5 above.

French Lute Music in NAO (ca. 1640-1710)

- There is an individual *formulational latitude*, but the tradition of the basic structure is remarkably constant.
- Versions outside the *formulational latitude* are suspicious and need to be interpreted.

Dupraz's permission—I scanned the dissertation and sent it back to him as a PDF file. For a copy, please contact the author directly. It was François-Pierre Goy who, in the early 1990s, established the contact between Dupraz and myself. I was able to put at Dupraz's disposal all my material concerning the rediscovered lute book by Wecker (Basel, 1552)—(which, by the way, also contains a *Benzenauer*)—including my concordances and reconstructions. He used these in his lecture "Duos de luths en Allemagne dans la première partie du XVI^e siècle: Hans Wecker (1552) et Wolf Heckel (1556/1562)," in *Luths et luthistes en Occident: Actes du colloque 13-15 mai 1998* (Paris: Cité de la musique, 1999), 77-101.

¹²⁸ Dupraz, "Duos," 81-83. The argumentation is presented extensively in Nehlsen and Schlegel.

- * The examination of pieces entered into different sources by the same hand becomes possible, once the writer is identified.
- When differing from the main transmission, the key (or, possibly, the *left hand chord fingering*) is necessary for identification.

Music in “accords nouveaux”

- Concordances in the repertoire of the accords nouveaux are more often outside the *formulational latitude* than later compositions in NAO.
- * Relations within sources that are closely related in terms of repertoire don't necessarily show the same quality. Some pieces may be closely related while others differ considerably.
- * Pieces in prints may have been in circulation for some time before being printed. Therefore, the possibility of using concordances to prints for dating pieces, content layers, or entire sources is very limited.¹²⁹
- * The nature of the differences between the versions needs to be described in a list of concordances.
- The tuning of the instrument is a relative one and must not be indicated in absolute note names. The modified Traficante system is best suited for this task.
- Many pieces have survived in different accords but sound almost or completely identical. Therefore, differing tuning indications are not useful for distinguishing different variants.
- The use of a different accord can lead to typical written errors. This is one more reason for including the original tuning in the information to be given with a concordance.
- * Due to differentiated viewing of concordances to prints, it might become possible to distinguish between a copy from the print and a copy from another source (like a different handwritten copy of a print, a master copy, or a pre-/post-copy from a composer's manuscript).
- * The notation systems and symbols used can help to match similar

¹²⁹ The existence of a print does not imply every handwritten concordance being copied from it. First, it is possible that the print was not published immediately after the piece's composition, but considerably later. Second, someone might have copied the prints or parts thereof, and this copy might, again, have been copied. Third, master copies were necessary for the printer or engraver, which possibly still exist (e.g., the book by Vincenzo Galilei, *I-Fn, Fondo Anteriori a Galileo* 6). And finally, a pupil might have copied something written by his teacher, which was printed at an earlier or later date (e.g., the *Bergamasca* by Giovanni Battista Domenico, which was printed in 1612 by Joachim van den Hove, but, in the manuscripts *D-HS DN VI 3238 "Schele"* [until 1991: *M B/2768*] and *D-Hbusch o. S. "Herold"*, dated 1602, appears in a differing order).

repertoire histories, versions, and people. Therefore, they should also be recorded.

- * The same writer might have used different, non-consistent notation systems.
- * In dance forms (especially courantes) one often finds close concordances for some strains but other strains are different—as if strains were pieced together arbitrarily.^{129a}

Music in “vieil ton” for Multi-Course Lute

- The indications regarding the notation of basses should be included in the information about a piece. *Doppelbelegungen* (double assignments of basses) need to be notated as indications for the reduction of a piece in order to suit an instrument with fewer courses.
- * Particularities concerning the notation of the instrument or the instrument itself (for example, number of courses used) should be recorded. In this context the identification of printers and types is important as well. Apparently, there were print shops that did not have the type for printing “correct” basses. The missing lines would then have to be added by hand, which was not always done.¹³⁰
- The different versions of “concordant” pieces within this repertoire rarely correspond exactly. In fact, especially in ornamented repetitions, we mostly find “set pieces” (*Versatzstücke*) combined almost at will.
- For that reason, these variations show a high degree of individuality and, accordingly, exact analogies are of great importance to the relationship between sources. Inversely, the mere appearance of the same piece does not mean anything. For interpretation, the degree of relationship between all concordances must be established exactly.
- Particularities of the writer – in our example the setting of the dot by writer 1—must be recorded.
- * The form should be noted (e.g., AB / AA’BB’ / ABA’B’), at least for dance-related pieces.
- * The *left hand chord fingering* (*Griffstellung*, not the key, since

^{129a} Robinson, personal communication, Sept. 18, 2010.

¹³⁰ As an example, let me mention Joachim Van den Hove, *Praeludia Testudinis* (Louvain: Godefried Basson, 1616), f. 3v, *Praeludium IV*, lines 6-7: In the progressively ascending sequence, the printer has only one line for basses in line 7. Since he obviously only has type for the print within the staves, the basses are “crossed out” with a line. The second and third ledger lines are missing, which, at first glance, looks as if only a 7th course was necessary. In reality, there are nine courses. This example is shown in Schegel and Lüdke, 106.

the tuning pitch is usually not known) must be indicated: ideally the first chord and, if not identical, the final chord.

- * Concordances to songs—in our example *En me revenant de Saint Nicolas* or *Wie unmenschliche Ewigkeit*—suggest that lute music is to be seen in a general context. It is in the interest of all parties to deepen the connection to song research.

Tenor-based music of the 16th century/concordances in different left hand chord fingerings

- In the age of instrument families, the *left hand chord fingerings* (*Griffstellung*) should be indicated in the information about the piece.
- * Pieces with different *left hand chord fingerings* can be individual versions or—especially, if different *left hand chord fingerings* appear in the same source—as potential duets/trios/quartets. Whether that is true has to be clarified in each case.
- In German tablature, the characters used for the 6th course are to be declared in the information about the piece.^{130a}
- Very different versions of tenor songs seem to have been in circulation. Thus, it is likely that the two- or three-part versions were not perceived as “song ruins” but rather as truly independent versions of a popular tenor.
- In tenor songs or tenor-related music in general, the number of parts and the position of the “theme melody” (of the tenor) should be included in the information about the piece.

Fantasias of the 16th century

- In fantasias, we must note whether they quote exactly from the fantasias of others (Adriaenssen exactly quotes several bars of Francesco and Bakfark!¹³¹)—and sometimes a fantasia is half of one concordant fantasia and half of another.^{131a}

^{130a} John Robinson gave an overview on the use of the 6th course in print sources in *Fantasia and Recercars for Renaissance Lute, Vol. 1: [Complete] Lute Fantasias and Recercars transcribed from Prints in German tablature*, edited by John H. Robinson, (Lübeck: Tree Edition, 2008), i-iii. For manuscripts, see Vol II: *[Complete] Lute Fantasias and Recercars transcribed from Manuscripts in German Tablature c. 1520-1580*, edited by John H. Robinson (Lübeck: Tree Edition, 2009), vi-vii.

¹³¹ John Robinson, personal communication, Sept. 18, 2010, wrote from examples from Adriaenssen, discovered by Deák Endre. They will be discussed closely in an article in *Die Laute XI* (yearbook of the Deutsche Lautengesellschaft), forthcoming.

^{131a} A beautiful example of such a citation from Francesco da Milano's Fantasy 75 with a different ending is shown in Andreas Schlegel, *The Lute in Europe: A History to Delight* (Menziken 2006), and in Schlegel and Lüdtké, 85.

Lists of concordances without classification of relationships lead to all interested parties having to re-assess the variants available to them and to classify them on their own. When lists of concordances are compiled for an edition in a serious way, this work is usually done. Therefore, it would make sense to combine these results.

It is now time to coordinate classification systems and, in so doing, to guarantee an ideal comparability of results. There are, obviously, different requirements for the compilation of different layers of repertoire. Therefore, different catalogues need to be considered. The partition into tenor-related music, music for multi-course lute, music in accords nouveaux, and French lute music in NAO, as it is presented here, is offered as a first approach. Later lute music, mostly from the Germanspeaking regions, is a further, individual layer of repertoire, and there are others, of course. So it is surely reasonable to establish further categories, which would have to be suggested by the respective specialists.

With regard to the (I hope) upcoming discussion, there is one thing I would like to point out: There will always be pieces that have very specific requirements. We will never be able to develop a system of classification that covers 100% of all cases. It is, however, better to classify 95% than to never get started due to endless discussions.

There are classification systems existing today.¹³² The most recent and most open classification, which is probably applicable to all layers of repertoire, is used by François-Pierre Goy in the facsimile edition of *CH-BEa Spiez 123*.¹³³

¹³² First attempts at classification were made in the following publications:

(1) In many Boethius facsimiles Robert Spencer distinguished between closer versions and cognates, indicated by "cf."

(2) Ness and Ward, *Königsberg*, p. 18: "Con. (concordance[s]) is used to indicate pieces that are in all essentials identical with the one in the *Königsberg Manuscript*; Cog. (cognate[s]), pieces that share the same thematic materials, but may be differently harmonized, or ornamented, or otherwise transformed.; Cf. calls attention to other relevant pieces."

(3) François-Pierre Goy and Andreas Schlegel, *Ms. Herold, Padua 1602* (Lübeck: Tree, 1991). At the time, we used seven degrees of relationship. This procedure was received by Jarchow, *Ernst Schele*, where a procedure in which four degrees were used. The most recent application, also using four degrees of relationship, can be found in Joachim Lüdtke, "Köln, Historisches Archiv der Stadt, Best. 7020 Nr. 328., 2. Teil: Zur Notation und zur Musik; Datierung und Einordnung; Inventar," *Lauten-Info* 1 (2010): 14-21.

¹³³ François-Pierre Goy and Andreas Schlegel, eds., *Bern, Staatsarchiv, HA Spiez 123, CH-BEa HA Spiez 123, vers 1625, Reproduction du manuscrit*, version dating from July 26, 2010, p. 36. Downloadable at www.accordsnouveaux.ch/de/DownloadD/files/CH-BEa_123.pdf.

- Concordance: The same original piece or the same arrangement of the same melody. If necessary, the most significant differences (tuning, form) are indicated.
- Transcription: The same original piece or the same arrangement of the same melody, transcribed for a different instrument.
- Counterpart: Tuning of the second lute for the same piece.
- Different Arrangement: The same melody with a different arrangement for lute or mandore. Every arrangement can have one or more sources. The sources are numbered in order to enable differentiation.
- Related Vocal Versions: Vocal versions of the same melody to be sung in one or more parts. These versions did not serve as a model for the instrumental arrangement, but stem from the same basic structure.

In addition to that, there is specific information that is useful for the assessment of pieces from the repertoire in accords nouveaux.

It seems to me that this two-stage model of classification according to relationship and “information for identification” (tuning of the instrument, indication of the form, *left hand chord fingering*, characteristics of notation, etc., all depending on the repertoire) will be the practicable solution for the future. However, there is one more problem to be solved, that is, basically, in classification, there are two kinds of relationships:

- I am looking for concordances that are as similar as possible to my original source in order to deduct relationships and dependencies. This is the standard procedure with editions of a particular source.
- I am compiling a kind of “complete edition” of a composer or repertoire and am therefore collecting all concordances without taking a specific version as a point of reference.

The bigger the differences between the surviving versions, the more significant the difference between these two kinds of relationships. An exact concordance between two sources that are far away from the main source will, thus, be very far away from this very main tradition (or even a printed version that is autograph or supervised by the author). Thus, we are confronted with the call for a complete catalogue, preferably divided according to layers of repertoire.

A “complete catalogue,” as it exists for the accords nouveaux, collects all variants of the same piece under one identification number. The variants are differentiated and (almost) identical versions are assigned

the same identifier. Thus, it is possible to see at first glance the number of truly differing versions of a piece. The description of the degree of relationship needs to be included in the text as a kind of “main card.” The information concerning the chronological and geographical distribution of the piece could be assembled in the same place.

A “complete catalogue” has the immense advantage of all researchers having the same point of reference. Every amendment to existing knowledge can then be placed in the correct location. But somebody has to do all the collecting. We have, for instance, the *CLF*-editions with their mostly unclassified or only slightly classified tables of concordances. However, newly discovered concordances keep showing up in all kinds of publications, and who among us lute music researchers has the time to control and collect all this knowledge? Who keeps updating the *CLF* lists and places them at our disposal? Does it make sense that researchers try to stay up to date on their own, or would a “central office” be more efficient? Should there be at least some sort of structuring of the branches: one researcher, for instance, exclusively taking care of the catalogue of pieces in accords nouveaux, another treating lute music in vieil ton for multi-course lute, etc.? There will, of course, be overlaps, but these can be handled without difficulty through cross-referencing and consultation between researchers.

In this context, we also need to call for the inclusion of standard catalogues like Zahn for the German hymns, the *Nederlandse Liederbank*, the *Katalog der Berliner Liedflugschriften*, Guillo for the Ballard prints, Gustafson for French harpsichord music, etc.¹³⁴ Too often, reference is made only to sources within the lute repertoire, and connections to repertoire outside of plucked instruments are rarely sought. It is these very connections to the song repertoire that are of utmost importance!

¹³⁴ Zahn = Johannes Zahn, *Die Melodien der deutschen evangelischen Kirchenlieder (...)*, Gütersloh 1889-1893;

Nederlandse Liederbank: www.liederenbank.nl;

Liedflugschriften: Eberhard Nehlsen (adapt.), *Berliner Liedflugschriften. Katalog der bis 1650 erschienenen Drucke der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz*, ed. by Gerd-Josef Bötte, Annette Wehmeyer, and Andreas Wittenberg, 3 vols., Baden-Baden, 2008-2009 (Bibliotheca bibliographica Aureliana 215-217);

Guillo, *Ballard*;

Bruce Gustafson, *French Harpsichord Music of the 17th Century. A Thematic Catalogue of the Sources with Commentary*, 3 vols. (= Studies in Musicology, No. 11) (Ann Arbor, 1977).

As a researcher, if I knew where my knowledge was being collected and integrated with the knowledge of other researchers, and if I had a contact point where I could convey my findings, this contact point would be available for other interested parties, which would benefit the whole lute community. Must this remain a utopia? Is it not our duty in the age of uncomplicated networking to adapt the organization of our knowledge to the possibilities of our time? Is this not the duty of lute societies, for which every member would gladly spare a penny, because it benefits would be visible to all on the Internet?

There should be a discussion about the handling of concordances and cataloguing now since different cataloguing projects need to be coordinated. Our group of active lute researchers being so small, we cannot afford to work without coordination. Now that the work of inventorying is essentially done, we can proceed to identify and classify, and the knowledge about the identity of every single tradition of a piece, which was gained through the inventories, needs to be bundled and released for the common benefit.

Example 1:**Courante "La Boutade"****(arranged and printed by Robert Ballard)**

The image displays a musical score for the Courante "La Boutade" by Robert Ballard, arranged and printed by Robert Ballard. The score is presented in a multi-staff format, showing the original notation and multiple lute tablatures for various instruments. The notation includes rhythmic values (e.g., 3, 6, 9, 12, 15, 18, 21, 24, 27, 30, 33, 36, 39, 42, 45, 48, 51, 54, 57, 60, 63, 66, 69, 72, 75, 78, 81, 84, 87, 90, 93, 96, 99, 102, 105, 108, 111, 114, 117, 120, 123, 126, 129, 132, 135, 138, 141, 144, 147, 150, 153, 156, 159, 162, 165, 168, 171, 174, 177, 180, 183, 186, 189, 192, 195, 198, 201, 204, 207, 210, 213, 216, 219, 222, 225, 228, 231, 234, 237, 240, 243, 246, 249, 252, 255, 258, 261, 264, 267, 270, 273, 276, 279, 282, 285, 288, 291, 294, 297, 300, 303, 306, 309, 312, 315, 318, 321, 324, 327, 330, 333, 336, 339, 342, 345, 348, 351, 354, 357, 360, 363, 366, 369, 372, 375, 378, 381, 384, 387, 390, 393, 396, 399, 402, 405, 408, 411, 414, 417, 420, 423, 426, 429, 432, 435, 438, 441, 444, 447, 450, 453, 456, 459, 462, 465, 468, 471, 474, 477, 480, 483, 486, 489, 492, 495, 498, 501, 504, 507, 510, 513, 516, 519, 522, 525, 528, 531, 534, 537, 540, 543, 546, 549, 552, 555, 558, 561, 564, 567, 570, 573, 576, 579, 582, 585, 588, 591, 594, 597, 600, 603, 606, 609, 612, 615, 618, 621, 624, 627, 630, 633, 636, 639, 642, 645, 648, 651, 654, 657, 660, 663, 666, 669, 672, 675, 678, 681, 684, 687, 690, 693, 696, 699, 702, 705, 708, 711, 714, 717, 720, 723, 726, 729, 732, 735, 738, 741, 744, 747, 750, 753, 756, 759, 762, 765, 768, 771, 774, 777, 780, 783, 786, 789, 792, 795, 798, 801, 804, 807, 810, 813, 816, 819, 822, 825, 828, 831, 834, 837, 840, 843, 846, 849, 852, 855, 858, 861, 864, 867, 870, 873, 876, 879, 882, 885, 888, 891, 894, 897, 900, 903, 906, 909, 912, 915, 918, 921, 924, 927, 930, 933, 936, 939, 942, 945, 948, 951, 954, 957, 960, 963, 966, 969, 972, 975, 978, 981, 984, 987, 990, 993, 996, 999, 1002, 1005, 1008, 1011, 1014, 1017, 1020, 1023, 1026, 1029, 1032, 1035, 1038, 1041, 1044, 1047, 1050, 1053, 1056, 1059, 1062, 1065, 1068, 1071, 1074, 1077, 1080, 1083, 1086, 1089, 1092, 1095, 1098, 1101, 1104, 1107, 1110, 1113, 1116, 1119, 1122, 1125, 1128, 1131, 1134, 1137, 1140, 1143, 1146, 1149, 1152, 1155, 1158, 1161, 1164, 1167, 1170, 1173, 1176, 1179, 1182, 1185, 1188, 1191, 1194, 1197, 1200, 1203, 1206, 1209, 1212, 1215, 1218, 1221, 1224, 1227, 1230, 1233, 1236, 1239, 1242, 1245, 1248, 1251, 1254, 1257, 1260, 1263, 1266, 1269, 1272, 1275, 1278, 1281, 1284, 1287, 1290, 1293, 1296, 1299, 1302, 1305, 1308, 1311, 1314, 1317, 1320, 1323, 1326, 1329, 1332, 1335, 1338, 1341, 1344, 1347, 1350, 1353, 1356, 1359, 1362, 1365, 1368, 1371, 1374, 1377, 1380, 1383, 1386, 1389, 1392, 1395, 1398, 1401, 1404, 1407, 1410, 1413, 1416, 1419, 1422, 1425, 1428, 1431, 1434, 1437, 1440, 1443, 1446, 1449, 1452, 1455, 1458, 1461, 1464, 1467, 1470, 1473, 1476, 1479, 1482, 1485, 1488, 1491, 1494, 1497, 1500, 1503, 1506, 1509, 1512, 1515, 1518, 1521, 1524, 1527, 1530, 1533, 1536, 1539, 1542, 1545, 1548, 1551, 1554, 1557, 1560, 1563, 1566, 1569, 1572, 1575, 1578, 1581, 1584, 1587, 1590, 1593, 1596, 1599, 1602, 1605, 1608, 1611, 1614, 1617, 1620, 1623, 1626, 1629, 1632, 1635, 1638, 1641, 1644, 1647, 1650, 1653, 1656, 1659, 1662, 1665, 1668, 1671, 1674, 1677, 1680, 1683, 1686, 1689, 1692, 1695, 1698, 1701, 1704, 1707, 1710, 1713, 1716, 1719, 1722, 1725, 1728, 1731, 1734, 1737, 1740, 1743, 1746, 1749, 1752, 1755, 1758, 1761, 1764, 1767, 1770, 1773, 1776, 1779, 1782, 1785, 1788, 1791, 1794, 1797, 1800, 1803, 1806, 1809, 1812, 1815, 1818, 1821, 1824, 1827, 1830, 1833, 1836, 1839, 1842, 1845, 1848, 1851, 1854, 1857, 1860, 1863, 1866, 1869, 1872, 1875, 1878, 1881, 1884, 1887, 1890, 1893, 1896, 1899, 1902, 1905, 1908, 1911, 1914, 1917, 1920, 1923, 1926, 1929, 1932, 1935, 1938, 1941, 1944, 1947, 1950, 1953, 1956, 1959, 1962, 1965, 1968, 1971, 1974, 1977, 1980, 1983, 1986, 1989, 1992, 1995, 1998, 2001, 2004, 2007, 2010, 2013, 2016, 2019, 2022, 2025, 2028, 2031, 2034, 2037, 2040, 2043, 2046, 2049, 2052, 2055, 2058, 2061, 2064, 2067, 2070, 2073, 2076, 2079, 2082, 2085, 2088, 2091, 2094, 2097, 2100, 2103, 2106, 2109, 2112, 2115, 2118, 2121, 2124, 2127, 2130, 2133, 2136, 2139, 2142, 2145, 2148, 2151, 2154, 2157, 2160, 2163, 2166, 2169, 2172, 2175, 2178, 2181, 2184, 2187, 2190, 2193, 2196, 2199, 2202, 2205, 2208, 2211, 2214, 2217, 2220, 2223, 2226, 2229, 2232, 2235, 2238, 2241, 2244, 2247, 2250, 2253, 2256, 2259, 2262, 2265, 2268, 2271, 2274, 2277, 2280, 2283, 2286, 2289, 2292, 2295, 2298, 2301, 2304, 2307, 2310, 2313, 2316, 2319, 2322, 2325, 2328, 2331, 2334, 2337, 2340, 2343, 2346, 2349, 2352, 2355, 2358, 2361, 2364, 2367, 2370, 2373, 2376, 2379, 2382, 2385, 2388, 2391, 2394, 2397, 2400, 2403, 2406, 2409, 2412, 2415, 2418, 2421, 2424, 2427, 2430, 2433, 2436, 2439, 2442, 2445, 2448, 2451, 2454, 2457, 2460, 2463, 2466, 2469, 2472, 2475, 2478, 2481, 2484, 2487, 2490, 2493, 2496, 2499, 2502, 2505, 2508, 2511, 2514, 2517, 2520, 2523, 2526, 2529, 2532, 2535, 2538, 2541, 2544, 2547, 2550, 2553, 2556, 2559, 2562, 2565, 2568, 2571, 2574, 2577, 2580, 2583, 2586, 2589, 2592, 2595, 2598, 2601, 2604, 2607, 2610, 2613, 2616, 2619, 2622, 2625, 2628, 2631, 2634, 2637, 2640, 2643, 2646, 2649, 2652, 2655, 2658, 2661, 2664, 2667, 2670, 2673, 2676, 2679, 2682, 2685, 2688, 2691, 2694, 2697, 2700, 2703, 2706, 2709, 2712, 2715, 2718, 2721, 2724, 2727, 2730, 2733, 2736, 2739, 2742, 2745, 2748, 2751, 2754, 2757, 2760, 2763, 2766, 2769, 2772, 2775, 2778, 2781, 2784, 2787, 2790, 2793, 2796, 2799, 2802, 2805, 2808, 2811, 2814, 2817, 2820, 2823, 2826, 2829, 2832, 2835, 2838, 2841, 2844, 2847, 2850, 2853, 2856, 2859, 2862, 2865, 2868, 2871, 2874, 2877, 2880, 2883, 2886, 2889, 2892, 2895, 2898, 2901, 2904, 2907, 2910, 2913, 2916, 2919, 2922, 2925, 2928, 2931, 2934, 2937, 2940, 2943, 2946, 2949, 2952, 2955, 2958, 2961, 2964, 2967, 2970, 2973, 2976, 2979, 2982, 2985, 2988, 2991, 2994, 2997, 3000, 3003, 3006, 3009, 3012, 3015, 3018, 3021, 3024, 3027, 3030, 3033, 3036, 3039, 3042, 3045, 3048, 3051, 3054, 3057, 3060, 3063, 3066, 3069, 3072, 3075, 3078, 3081, 3084, 3087, 3090, 3093, 3096, 3099, 3102, 3105, 3108, 3111, 3114, 3117, 3120, 3123, 3126, 3129, 3132, 3135, 3138, 3141, 3144, 3147, 3150, 3153, 3156, 3159, 3162, 3165, 3168, 3171, 3174, 3177, 3180, 3183, 3186, 3189, 3192, 3195, 3198, 3201, 3204, 3207, 3210, 3213, 3216, 3219, 3222, 3225, 3228, 3231, 3234, 3237, 3240, 3243, 3246, 3249, 3252, 3255, 3258, 3261, 3264, 3267, 3270, 3273, 3276, 3279, 3282, 3285, 3288, 3291, 3294, 3297, 3300, 3303, 3306, 3309, 3312, 3315, 3318, 3321, 3324, 3327, 3330, 3333, 3336, 3339, 3342, 3345, 3348, 3351, 3354, 3357, 3360, 3363, 3366, 3369, 3372, 3375, 3378, 3381, 3384, 3387, 3390, 3393, 3396, 3399, 3402, 3405, 3408, 3411, 3414, 3417, 3420, 3423, 3426, 3429, 3432, 3435, 3438, 3441, 3444, 3447, 3450, 3453, 3456, 3459, 3462, 3465, 3468, 3471, 3474, 3477, 3480, 3483, 3486, 3489, 3492, 3495, 3498, 3501, 3504, 3507, 3510, 3513, 3516, 3519, 3522, 3525, 3528, 3531, 3534, 3537, 3540, 3543, 3546, 3549, 3552, 3555, 3558, 3561, 3564, 3567, 3570, 3573, 3576, 3579, 3582, 3585, 3588, 3591, 3594, 3597, 3600, 3603, 3606, 3609, 3612, 3615, 3618, 3621, 3624, 3627, 3630, 3633, 3636, 3639, 3642, 3645, 3648, 3651, 3654, 3657, 3660, 3663, 3666, 3669, 3672, 3675, 3678, 3681, 3684, 3687, 3690, 3693, 3696, 3699, 3702, 3705, 3708, 3711, 3714, 3717, 3720, 3723, 3726, 3729, 3732, 3735, 3738, 3741, 3744, 3747, 3750, 3753, 3756, 3759, 3762, 3765, 3768, 3771, 3774, 3777, 3780, 3783, 3786, 3789, 3792, 3795, 3798, 3801, 3804, 3807, 3810, 3813, 3816, 3819, 3822, 3825, 3828, 3831, 3834, 3837, 3840, 3843, 3846, 3849, 3852, 3855, 3858, 3861, 3864, 3867, 3870, 3873, 3876, 3879, 3882, 3885, 3888, 3891, 3894, 3897, 3900, 3903, 3906, 3909, 3912, 3915, 3918, 3921, 3924, 3927, 3930, 3933, 3936, 3939, 3942, 3945, 3948, 3951, 3954, 3957, 3960, 3963, 3966, 3969, 3972, 3975, 3978, 3981, 3984, 3987, 3990, 3993, 3996, 3999, 4002, 4005, 4008, 4011, 4014, 4017, 4020, 4023, 4026, 4029, 4032, 4035, 4038, 4041, 4044, 4047, 4050, 4053, 4056, 4059, 4062, 4065, 4068, 4071, 4074, 4077, 4080, 4083, 4086, 4089, 4092, 4095, 4098, 4101, 4104, 4107, 4110, 4113, 4116, 4119, 4122, 4125, 4128, 4131, 4134, 4137, 4140, 4143, 4146, 4149, 4152, 4155, 4158, 4161, 4164, 4167, 4170, 4173, 4176, 4179, 4182, 4185, 4188, 4191, 4194, 4197, 4200, 4203, 4206, 4209, 4212, 4215, 4218, 4221, 4224, 4227, 4230, 4233, 4236, 4239, 4242, 4245, 4248, 4251, 4254, 4257, 4260, 4263, 4266, 4269, 4272, 4275, 4278, 4281, 4284, 4287, 4290, 4293, 4296, 4299, 4302, 4305, 4308, 4311, 4314, 4317, 4320, 4323, 4326, 4329, 4332, 4335, 4338, 4341, 4344, 4347, 4350, 4353, 4356, 4359, 4362, 4365, 4368, 4371, 4374, 4377, 4380, 4383, 4386, 4389, 4392, 4395, 4398, 4401, 4404, 4407, 4410, 4413, 4416, 4419, 4422, 4425, 4428, 4431, 4434, 4437, 4440, 4443, 4446, 4449, 4452, 4455, 4458, 4461, 4464, 4467, 4470, 4473, 4476, 4479, 4482, 4485, 4488, 4491, 4494, 4497, 4500, 4503, 4506, 4509, 4512, 4515, 4518, 4521, 4524, 4527, 4530, 4533, 4536, 4539, 4542, 4545, 4548, 4551, 4554, 4557, 4560, 4563, 4566, 4569, 4572, 4575, 4578, 4581, 4584, 4587, 4590, 4593, 4596, 4599, 4602, 4605, 4608, 4611, 4614, 4617, 4620, 4623, 4626, 4629, 4632, 4635, 4638, 4641, 4644, 4647, 4650, 4653, 4656, 4659, 4662, 4665, 4668, 4671, 4674, 4677, 4680, 4683, 4686, 4689, 4692, 4695, 4698, 4701, 4704, 4707, 4710, 4713, 4716, 4719, 4722, 4725, 4728, 4731, 4734, 4737, 4740, 4743, 4746, 4749, 4752, 4755, 4758, 4761, 4764, 4767, 4770, 4773, 4776, 4779, 4782, 4785, 4788, 4791, 4794, 4797, 4800, 4803, 4806, 4809, 4812, 4815, 4818, 4821, 4824, 4827, 4830, 4833, 4836, 4839, 4842, 4845, 4848, 4851, 4854, 4857, 4860, 4863, 4866, 4869, 4872, 4875, 4878, 4881, 4884, 4887, 4890, 4893, 4896, 4899, 4902, 4905, 4908, 4911, 4914, 4917, 4920, 4923, 4926, 4929, 4932, 4935, 4938, 4941, 4944, 4947, 4950, 4953, 4956, 4959, 4962, 4965, 4968, 4971, 4974, 4977, 4980, 4983, 4986, 4989, 4992, 4995, 4998, 5001, 5004, 5007, 5010, 5013, 5016, 5019, 5022, 5025, 5028, 5031, 5034, 5037, 5040, 5043, 5046, 5049, 5052, 5055, 5058, 5061, 5064, 5067, 5070, 5073, 5076, 5079, 5082, 5085, 5088, 5091, 5094, 5097, 5100, 5103, 5106, 5109, 5112, 5115, 5118, 5121, 5124, 5127, 5130, 5133, 5136, 5139, 5142, 5145, 5148, 5151, 5154, 5157, 5160, 5163, 5166, 5169, 5172, 5175, 5178, 5181, 5184, 5187, 5190, 5193, 5196, 5199, 5202, 5205, 5208, 5211, 5214, 5217, 5220, 5223, 5226, 5229, 5232, 5235, 5238, 5241, 5244, 5247, 5250, 5253, 5256, 5259, 5262, 5265, 5268, 5271, 5274, 5277, 5280, 5283, 5286, 5289, 5292, 5295, 5298, 5301, 5304, 5307, 5310, 5313, 5316, 5319, 5322, 5325, 5328, 5331, 5334, 5337, 5340, 5343, 5346, 5349, 5352, 5355, 5358, 5361, 5364, 5367, 5370, 5373, 5376, 5379, 5382, 5385, 5388, 5391, 5394, 5397, 5400, 5403, 5406, 5409, 5412, 5415, 5418, 5421, 5424, 5427, 5430, 5433, 5436, 5439, 5442, 5445, 5448, 5451, 5454, 5457, 5460, 5463, 5466, 5469, 5472, 5475, 5478, 5481, 5484, 5487, 5490, 5493, 5496, 5499, 5502, 5505, 5508, 5511, 5514, 5517, 5520, 5523, 5526, 5529, 5532, 5535, 5538, 5541, 5544, 5547, 5550, 5553, 5556, 5559, 5562, 5565, 5568, 5571, 5574, 5577, 5580, 5583, 5586, 5589, 5592, 5595, 5598, 5601, 5604, 5607, 5610, 5613, 5616, 5619, 5622, 5625, 5628, 5631, 5634, 5637, 5640, 5643, 5646, 5649, 5652, 5655, 5658, 5661, 5664, 5667, 5670, 5673, 5676, 5679, 5682, 5685, 5688, 5691, 5694, 5697, 5700, 5703, 5706, 5709, 5712, 5715, 5718, 5721, 5724, 5727, 5730, 5733, 5736, 5739, 5742, 5745, 5748, 5751, 5754, 5757, 5760, 5763, 5766, 5769, 5772, 5775, 5778, 5781, 5784, 5787, 5790, 5793, 5796, 5799, 5802, 5805, 5808, 5811, 5814, 5817, 5820, 5823, 5826, 5829, 5832, 5835, 5838, 5841, 5844, 5847, 5850, 5853, 5856, 5859, 5862, 5865, 5868, 5871, 5874, 5877, 5880, 5883, 5886, 5889, 5892, 5895, 5898, 5901, 5904, 5907, 5910, 5913, 5916, 5919, 5922, 5925, 5928, 5931, 5934, 5937, 5940, 5943, 5946, 5949, 5952, 5955, 5958, 5961, 5964, 5967, 5970, 5973, 5976, 5979, 5982, 5985, 5988, 5991, 5994, 5997, 6000, 6003, 6006, 6009, 6012, 6015, 6018, 6021, 6024, 6027, 6030, 6033, 6036, 6039, 6042, 6045, 6048, 6051, 6054, 6057, 6060, 6063, 6066, 6069, 6072, 6075, 6078, 6081, 6084, 6087, 6090, 6093, 6096, 6099, 6102, 6105, 6108, 6111, 6114, 6117, 6120, 6123, 6126, 6129, 6132, 6135, 6138, 6141, 6144, 6147, 6150, 6153, 6156, 6159, 6162, 6165, 6168, 6171, 6174, 6177, 6180, 6183, 6186, 6189, 6192, 6195, 6198, 6201, 6204, 6207, 6210, 6213, 6216, 6219, 622

Nun danket alle Gott

- 1) Augmentation dot written alone
- 2) Augmentation dot written alone
- 3) Barline missing
- 4) Quarter note displaced to the right

Handwritten musical score for a lute ensemble, featuring parts for Ball., SO, M.L., Fuhr., HA 189, Mbs, KR, V, HA 60, Moy, and 4022. The score is organized into five measures across five systems. Each system contains two staves. The notation includes various rhythmic values (e.g., minims, crotchets, quavers) and accidentals (sharps, flats). Some parts have first and second endings marked with '1.' and '2.'. The final measure of the last system includes a double bar line and a repeat sign.

16

The musical notation is written on a four-staff system. The notation includes various notes, rests, and accidentals, with some notes marked with 'a' or 'b' below them. The system is divided into four measures by vertical bar lines. Above the staves, there are handwritten notes and symbols, including 'd', 'l', and 'a'.

20

Ball.

SO

M.L.

Fuhr.

HA 189

Mbs

KR

V

HA 60

Moy

4022

24

The image shows a musical score for a lute, spanning measures 24 to 27. The score is written on a grand staff with four systems, each containing two staves. The notation is in a historical style, featuring a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The music consists of a single melodic line with various note values, including minims, crotchets, and quavers, often beamed together. Measure 24 begins with a '24' in the left margin. The first system (measures 24-25) shows a sequence of notes: a half note 'a', a quarter note 'g', a half note 'f', and a quarter note 'e'. The second system (measures 26-27) continues the sequence: a half note 'd', a quarter note 'c', a half note 'b', and a quarter note 'a'. The notation is clear and legible, with a focus on the melodic contour.

28

Bail.

SO

M.L.

Fuhr.

HA
189

Mbs

KR

V

HA
60

Moy

4022

Handwritten musical score for a multi-staff ensemble. The score is written on 12 staves, each with a label on the left. The labels are: Bail., SO, M.L., Fuhr., HA 189, Mbs, KR, V, HA 60, Moy, and 4022. The music is written in a system of five measures. The notation includes various notes, rests, and accidentals, with some notes marked with 'a' or 'b'. There are also some handwritten annotations above the staves, such as '1.' and '3'.

33

1) Quarter note or 1d?

2) 8th note missing

3) 16th note instead of an 8th note

4) Augmentation dot missing

38

Ball.

SO

M.L.

Fuhr.

HA 189

Mbs

KR

V

HA 60

Moy

4022

Handwritten musical score for "The Rose Tree" in G major, 2/4 time. The score is written on ten systems of five staves each. The first staff of each system contains a treble clef, a key signature of one sharp (F#), and a 2/4 time signature. The music is written in a simple, handwritten style with notes, rests, and bar lines. The melody is primarily in the treble clef, with some bass clef notation in the later systems. The lyrics "The Rose Tree" are written below the first staff of each system. The score ends with a double bar line and a repeat sign.

1) Augmentation dot written alone

47

Ball.

SO

M.L.

Fuhr.

HA
189

Mbs

KR

V

HA
60

Moy

4022

1) Correction at the end of the measure, before the last tablature letter: 1b and 4a canceled out

51

The musical score is organized into four systems, each containing four staves. The notation is a historical lute tablature, featuring various notes, rests, and specific lute symbols. The first system begins with a '51' in the left margin. The notation includes notes with flags, some marked with 'a' or 'b', and a '3' indicating a triplet. The staves are arranged in a grid, with some staves containing more notation than others, suggesting a complex piece of music.

55

Ball.

SO

M.L.

Fuhr.

HA 189

Mbs

KR

V

HA 60

Moy

4022

13

SO

LHC

Schele

Swan

Rett 162

Rett 118

17

1)

SO

LHC

Schele

Swan

Rett 162

Rett 118

1) 1d and 4a written one above the other

21

SO

LHC

Schele

Swan

Rett 162

Rett 118

1) 8th note written instead of a quarter note

27

SO

LHC

Schele

Swan

Rett 162

Rett 118

34

SO

LHC

Schele

Swan

Rett 162

Rett 118

41

SO

LHC

Schele

Swan

Rett 162

Rett 118

46

1) 2) 3)

SO

LHC

Schele

Swan

Rett
162

Rett
118

1) 2b altered to 3b

2) 4a corrected, and next 2d altered to 3d

3) 8th course altered to 7th course, then 1f canceled out after 1g

51

1. 3 1

SO

LHC

Schele

Swan

Rett
162

Rett
118

